

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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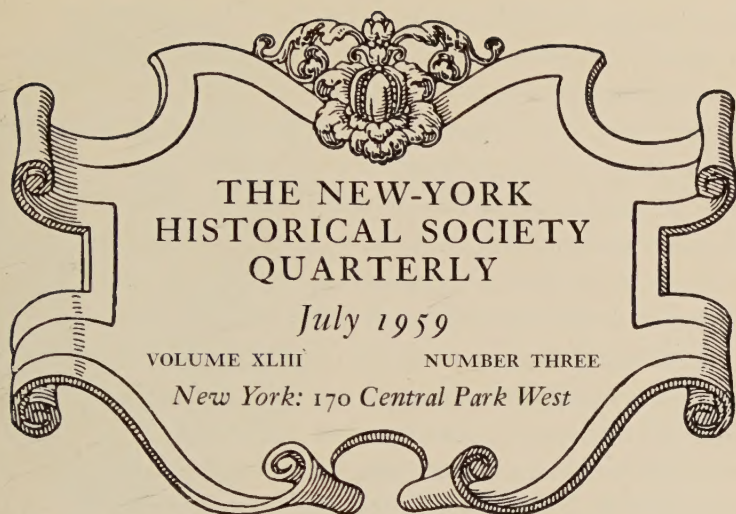
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JOHN SCUDDER (1775-1821)

Proprietor of the American Museum, 1810-1821
Painted in gold and black on white glass background

The New-York Historical Society



THE AMERICAN MUSEUM FROM BAKER TO BARNUM

by LOYD HABERLY*

AFTER THE local hurricane of September 14, 1796, wrought havoc with all his costly preparations for ascending in a baby-blue balloon with Blanchard the French aviator, Gardiner Baker of the Tammany Museum¹ was "in a most sorrowful mood, but by no means in despair." Thus wrote young Doctor Alexander Anderson, the diarist, who had been Baker's classmate in Columbia's Medical College,² and who regularly walked out

* Dean of Arts and Sciences at Fairleigh Dickinson University and author of *Pursuit of the Horizon: A Life of George Catlin, Painter & Recorder of the American Indian* (1948).

¹ For a detailed account of Baker's development and management of the museum, see Robert M. and Gale S. McClung, "Tammany's Remarkable Gardiner Baker: New York's First Museum Proprietor, Menagerie Keeper, and Promoter Extraordinary," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, April 1958, 143-69.

² Gardiner Baker is listed among Non Graduates in Medicine enrolled for 1792-93 in Milton Halsey Thomas, *Columbia University Officers and Alumni* (1936), 181.

to the rented ascension-site to treat the many ailments of the Baker family. Again, in the following summer when one of Baker's children died after eating green apples, Doctor Anderson noted that "Mr. B's fortitude shines on an occasion which must be very trying to a man so fond of his children."³

What broke Gardiner Baker—a devoted husband and father—was the belated discovery in April 1798 of his wife's unrestrained infatuation for a Frenchman, whom he haled into court for wrecking his home. It was in a desperate effort to terminate this domestic tragedy that he took his family, his Stuart portrait of Washington, and his most costly musical automaton off to Boston. Baker's death there from yellow fever was, in Doctor Anderson's belief, due to the terrible strain he had been enduring.⁴

Back in New York with four fatherless children, his widow continued the Tammany Museum as best she could—in the Exchange Building until asked to vacate, and then in The Panorama which Gardiner Baker had operated on Greenwich Street. She also continued with her French lover, despite the stern disapproval of her townspeople.⁵ In a deepening of the Baker tragedy, she soon died intestate,⁶ as her husband had done. The City Chamberlain, acting as Administrator, immediately tried to sell both the Tammany Museum collection and the lease of The Panorama,⁷ hoping thus to ease the plight of the four penniless little orphaned Bakers who were now scattered among their father's old friends.⁸

³ Entries for September 15, 1796, and July 24, 1797, in the Anderson Diary, which is in the Columbia University Library—along with a reliable typed transcript.

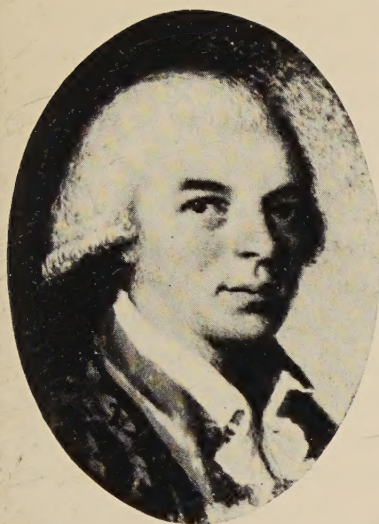
⁴ Anderson Diary, April 28, 1798, and January 26, 1799.

⁵ Anderson Diary, December 22, 1798.

⁶ Surrogate's Office, Letters of Administration, Liber 6, p. 206, in the Hall of Records, N.Y.C. This document is dated May 10, 1800.

⁷ The Administrator's advertisement, stating the Tammany restrictions on Baker's collections, appeared in the *Commercial Advertiser* from May 12 to June 30, 1800.

⁸ Charles Willson Peale's journal for June 9 and 10, 1801. Peale had carefully noted Tammany Museum offerings during his examination of them on June 6, 1791, and again on June 24, 1798. These manuscripts are in the library of the American Philosophical Society.



EDWARD SAVAGE (1761–1817)

Proprietor, Columbian Gallery
1801–1810

Miniature self-portrait

Courtesy, Worcester Art Museum

cal painter”—a back-country boy from Worcester County, Massachusetts, who combined artistic competence with Yankee shrewdness and enterprise.¹⁴

A sturdy, quick-moving man of middle height and middle years, Savage was by this time an experienced showman. Back in 1794, when he returned to Massachusetts after two years of study abroad,¹⁵ he had opened in Boston a “Columbian Exhibi-

These Baker Estate properties, thus offered in May 1800, were bought in toto as a speculation by William I. Waldron, a grocer, who at once put them up for resale.⁹ While awaiting a buyer, he kept the collection open to the paying public as Waldron’s Museum,¹⁰ which he maintained in presentable condition¹¹ and advertised in extravagant terms. Transferring his lease of The Panorama to a tavern-keeper¹² in the early spring of 1802, Waldron moved the contents of that place to 69 Broadway, where they continued to be on public show in spite of their “chaotic disposal.”¹³ Very shortly, they would be the property of Edward Savage—“historical

⁹ Waldron advertised the properties in the *American Citizen and General Advertiser* from September 15 through October, 1800, and again from January 11 to 28, 1802.

¹⁰ *American Citizen and General Advertiser*, January, February, and March, 1802.

¹¹ Peale’s journal, June 10, 1801.

¹² Longworth’s Directory for 1802 lists “Acker, Philip, tavern,” at 222 Greenwich.

¹³ Advertisements in the *Evening Post*, May 12 to June 7, 1802.

¹⁴ Charles Henry Hart, “Edward Savage, Painter and Engraver,” in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, January 1905.

¹⁵ A letter addressed to General Knox on January 22, 1792, shows Savage settled

tion" of his pictures and prints, and then put on display there his large panoramic painting of London and Westminster.¹⁶ Moving his Boston bride,¹⁷ his pictures, and his panorama show-business to Philadelphia, where his brother was a merchant, he had made that city his headquarters since the summer of 1795.

In 1801 he was in New York, to open there—in the Pantheon building at 80 Greenwich Street, near the Battery—"the Columbian Gallery, containing a large collection of Ancient and Modern Paintings, Prints, and Sculpture."¹⁸ If he did not make this move expressly to set up in Manhattan a museum of natural history and art like Peale's in Philadelphia or Bowen's in Boston, he decided to do so when he saw Waldron offering just what he needed to expand his picture gallery into such an establishment. Having acquired Waldron's collection, he advertised on August 23, 1802, that E. Savage

has purchased at a considerable expence, the MUSEUM formerly possessed by the ingenious and active Gardiner Baker, late of this city.—Owing to a number of adverse circumstances, it has been greatly neglected, and lost much of its former value, In consequence of which it has suffered considerably in the public estimation.—This evil the subscriber has undertaken to remedy completely. . . .¹⁹

To accomplish the rehabilitation thus promised, Savage employed as his curator and naturalist at the re-named Columbian Gallery of Painting and City Museum a young natural-history enthusiast named John Scudder. Born of humble parents in Braintree, Massachusetts, on July 29, 1776, John Scudder had only elementary schooling there before he was apprenticed in the tobacco trade. After serving his apprenticeship, he worked as a journeyman of that trade in New York. He had risen to be foreman of a tobacco concern in Brooklyn when Savage heard

in London at No. 22 Charles Street, Middlesex Hospital. Knox papers, Vol. 30, Mass. Hist. Soc.

¹⁶ *Columbian Centinel*, May 24, October 25, 1794.

¹⁷ Sarah Seaver whom he married on October 13, 1794. See Hart, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Longworth's Directory for 1801; *Gazette and General Advertiser*, May 11, 1802.

¹⁹ *Daily Advertiser*, August 23, 1802.

of his fine amateur wildlife mountings and enticed him into showmanship. The new museum was his heaven-sent opportunity to devote full time to his obvious natural-history vocation. As he possessed good taste, infinite zeal, and trained hands, his taxidermy improved to such acknowledged excellence that he could list himself as artist in the New York directory.²⁰

But Edward Savage was often away, and never more than half-hearted in a museum venture which took him from his picture-making and his machine-designing.²¹ He advertised his establishment rarely, and mainly to publicize his passing interest in a thermo-lamp, an eight-legged lamb, or an improved physiognotrace which cut small profile silhouettes at a penny each. Though for a while he showed a loan collection of animals, birds, and reptiles from Cayenne in South America, he was perfectly willing to relinquish the local enthusiasts for such subjects to Delacoste's Cabinet of Natural History which opened with considerable fanfare on William Street in 1804.²²

Uneasy under an employer whose mind was more on art and mechanics than on all-important natural history, John Scudder decided to set up a museum of his own. To make money enough for this purpose, he left Savage's establishment and traded for some years on coastwise ships plying between New York and New England ports. His operations during these years are not recorded, but a *Commercial Advertiser* obituary—the only biographical sketch of Scudder—says:

While he was engaged in this pursuit, however, he never lost sight of his favorite object, and with that view, he expended, from time to time, as much of his gain as the state of his finances would admit, in purchasing such articles as were most rare and curious, in the works of nature as well as art.²³

²⁰ Scudder's early life was briefly recounted by An American, in the *Commercial Advertiser* for August 17, 1821. His birth and parentage are recorded in Samuel A. Bates, ed., *Records of the Town of Braintree*, 839, 878. Longworth's Directory for 1807 lists "Scudder, John, artist, 5 chapel."

²¹ Savage had an active interest in textile machinery, and invented a loom. Stokes, V, 1585.

²² *Evening Post*, December 31, 1802; *Daily Advertiser*, June 28, December 31, 1803; January 3, May 11, 1804.

²³ *Commercial Advertiser*, August 17, 1821.

Left without a naturalist, Edward Savage quietly conducted the Museum—so he now called his show—in the new quarters at 166 Greenwich Street which he had moved into during the spring of 1805. Occasionally he advertised such an oddity as the tiny “invisible lady,” or “The Phantasmagoria” of weird other-worldlings, or a vast waxen fat man, or Miss Sally Rogers the armless paper cutter. After the terrible second burning of Daniel Bowen’s Columbian Museum in Boston, he opened his own establishment every day and evening of a week in February 1807 to raise benefit money for Bowen, whose plight and worthiness he expounded in long advertisements.²⁴ Shortly after that it was rumored that Savage was moving his Museum into a former military academy at the corner of Warren Street and Broadway, where he would “exhibit Philosophical, Astronomical, and Optical Experiments.”²⁵ But instead of carrying through with his project, he disposed of the major part of his collections to John Scudder and went back to his native Massachusetts.²⁶

With this purchase added to the curios he had been accumulating, Scudder opened The New American Museum at 21 Chatham Street in March 1810.²⁷ As he was already known and respected among influential New Yorkers who shared his interests, he got favorable publicity from the first for his true-to-life displays of hawk, hummingbird, rattlesnake, and polar bear. Sincere in his devotion to natural history, he was also enough of a showman to exhibit a roomful of such waxwork figures as The Sleeping Beauty with her baby, and King Saul with the Witch of Endor and Samuel’s ghost.²⁸ *The Medical Repository* for 1811²⁹ remarked on the new museum’s superior water pelicans, gannets,

²⁴ *Evening Post*, April 5, 1805; February 9, June 5, December 24, 1807.

²⁵ *Mercantile Advertiser*, April 20, 1808.

²⁶ In the *Columbian Centinel* for December 25, 1811, Savage was advertising a museum located at Boylston Hall in Boston. But in 1810 he was still in the New York Directory.

²⁷ *Columbian Centinel*, March 21, 1810.

²⁸ *Commercial Advertiser*, May 5, 1810 (a laudatory Communication on the American Museum), and November 26, 1810.

²⁹ In its Third Hexade, II, 88.

oyster-crackers, loons, and owls, and added: "The collection of insects, zoophytes, vermes, and serpents, is already considerable, and is increasing very fast. The shells promise fair to grow to an extensive mass of conchology, and the fossils are extending rapidly to a body of mineralogy."

Bad times and war times followed—when such a growing collection could draw only a diminishing trickle of paying visitors. Scudder managed to hold on, however, by opening a Grand Naval Panorama—in which he showed enormous paintings of recent battles on the Great Lakes and on the sea, along with lamps fed by "inflammable air extracted from pit coal," and an "Optical Cosmorama or Parade around the World."³⁰

It was a happy day for him when the Common Council in 1816 allotted to his American Museum the free occupancy of rooms on the second floor of the old Almshouse in City Hall Park.³¹ Payment of one peppercorn yearly for these quarters in what was re-named The New York Institution gave his private display an elevating public sanction. For his neighbors in that civic-center he had The New-York Historical Society, the New York Society Library, the American Academy of Fine Arts, the Deaf and Dumb Institution, the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Lyceum of Natural History, the Board of Health, and the Bank for Savings. Free use of floor-space in such a high-rental section of the city was a subsidy which allowed Scudder to maintain and vastly increase his museum on twenty-five cent admissions, while supporting a good-sized family on the same premises. The Institution's lecture room and experimental laboratory enabled him to bring in scientific demonstrators who used his collections to illustrate their talks.

Gratefully aware of these advantages, he spent almost eight thousand dollars on what his ever-helpful friend John Pintard termed "accommodating his apartments" in the refurbished place

³⁰ The *Columbian Centinel* carried advertisements of these from July 1813 to late 1815.

³¹ Stokes, V, 1587.

The American Museum

with new cases and improved exhibits.³² One who attended the American Museum's opening in these stylish quarters assured the readers of the *Commercial Advertiser* on July 3, 1817, that, in the quality of its displays and in the picturesqueness of their arrangement, it was unrivalled in the country and worthy of comparison with the best to be seen abroad. The *Stranger's Guide* for that year³³ described the arrangement of Scudder's 94-by 41-foot second-story showroom. At the far end from the entrance he had set up a broad forest scene, realistically inhabited by eighty animals, snakes, and birds. The center of the room was occupied by a display of more than six hundred varieties of natural history specimens, in 164 glass cases. A gallery provided for separate showing of minerals, ancient coins, and thousands of unusual shells and butterflies.³⁴

So situated—with his museum accepted as an important part of The New York Institution—Scudder could afford to hire occasional musicians, or to buy out a rent-paying rival.³⁵ His establishment became widely known and an entertainment “must” during New York celebrations and holidays. When John Pintard walked out in the evening of July Fourth, 1819, to see the colorful American Museum illuminations, he found all the Park around it thronged with sightseers. Inside Scudder's big showroom, “the crowd was so great, and the heat so insufferable, that no gratification could arise from viewing his elegant preparations. The music was very fine, & the Spectators outside had the best of the bargain.”³⁶

Two years more of this sort of crowded excitement, plus overwork and constant contact with the poisonous chemicals of taxidermy, brought Scudder to an untimely end on August 7, 1821,

³² *Letters from John Pintard to His Daughter* (4 vols.; The New-York Historical Society, 1940-1941), I, 60-61.

³³ Pages 102-3.

³⁴ The New-York Historical Society has a condensed list of Scudder exhibits, as of July 1, 1819, printed on a broadsheet.

³⁵ Communication from Real American in *Columbian Centinel*, August 12, 1820.

³⁶ *Letters from John Pintard*, I, 203.



THE AMERICAN MUSEUM IN CITY HALL PARK, 1816-1832

Lithograph, c. 1825, at The New-York Historical Society

in his forty-fifth year.³⁷ The city-wide affection and respect which he had won was shown by the “vast concourse of all sorts” attending his funeral.

Before his death, Scudder had so enlarged his collections in the Institution that they filled three more rooms, each as large as the first. He had also written a lengthy and elaborate will,³⁸ beginning: “In the Name of God Amen I John Scudder an Artist in Natural History and proprietor of the American Museum . . .” To maintain the establishment which had been Scudder’s pride—and which he dreamfully had hoped would be his monument—this will put the museum into the hands of Trustees who were to use its income for the support of his widow and four

³⁷ *Commercial Advertiser*, August 7, 1821. The *Letters from John Pintard*, Vol. II, contains several references to Scudder’s death, and his family.

³⁸ Record of Wills, Liber 56, in N.Y.C. Hall of Records.

young daughters, and for such an education of his brilliant son John as would prepare the boy, then a student at Erasmus Hall,³⁹ to carry on the American Museum in due time.

Scudder's Trustees were all New Yorkers and his close friends: "Richard Kissam of the said City Physician & Surgeon[,] Jacob F. Hagadorn of the said City Clerk[,] John Pintard of the said City Esquire[,] George Dixey of the said City Carver[,] and Cornelius Bogert of the said City Esquire Attorney at Law" Authorized to appoint one of their number "to sustain support and oversee the American Museum," these gentlemen selected Cornelius Bogert. He, in turn, employed a naturalist as curator-manager, and another man as attendant. Under Bogert's direction the museum went on as before, showing Cosmorama views of foreign places, and advertising both what it hired for short displays and what it bought for permanent exhibition.

By mid-summer, 1823, five hundred new acquisitions had been added to the various collections, which now included 250 fish. That fall the museum published and widely distributed *A Companion to the American Museum: Being a Catalogue of upwards of Fifty Thousand Natural and Foreign Curiosities, Antiquities, and Productions of the Fine Arts: now open for public inspection, in the New-York Institution, Park, Broadway; With the Latin name of each Natural Curiosity prefixed, to which is added, Notes and Explanatory Remarks, by John Scudder*. While this first attempt at a full scientific listing of the haphazardly gathered specimens in the museum was still in the press, the establishment was fitting up a picture gallery on an upper floor and adding Indian implements from the Pacific Coast for its usual Evacuation Day displays on November 25th.⁴⁰

After contributing the Notes and Explanatory Remarks which put his name on the museum's catalogue, young John Scudder enrolled in the Medical School of Columbia College. In 1825, after two years there, he dropped out and did not take a

³⁹ *Commercial Advertiser*, August 17, 1821.

⁴⁰ *Evening Post*, July 3, November 24, 1823. A copy of the Museum's 103-page *Catalogue* is at NYHS.

degree.⁴¹ Having been overindulged—even more than his sisters—by a father's kindness, he fell into evil habits, broke with his family, and with the Museum Trustees. To the detriment of all concerned, he mortgaged his inheritance to set up in Chatham Street an entertainment place called Scudder's New York Spectaculum,⁴² where for several down-hill years he tried unsuccessfully to draw away the American Museum's customers. His failure was hastened by Rubens Peale, the artist-showman son of another museum man, Charles Willson Peale.

Assuming that the American Museum would not long outlast its late proprietor, Rubens Peale had now moved to Manhattan and opened Peale's New York Museum, on Broadway, across from the City Hall.⁴³ He had the assurance of long experience in his father's Philadelphia establishment, and in a showplace of his own in Baltimore, and he had the means to employ skilled helpers, as well as to send a mineralogist far and wide for fossils, crystals, and ores.⁴⁴

The Scudder Trustees met this competition by adding an entire Cosmoramic floor, where forty-seven Optic Glasses provided that many views of harbors, cities, landscapes, and abbeys. They installed a physiognotrace to cut cheap silhouettes. They kept their museum warm, and illuminated it in the evening with gas lights. In constant and varied publicity they advertised popular—even sensational—entertainment along with showings of special rarities selected from the hundred and fifty thousand curiosities which crowded their cabinets late in 1826.⁴⁵ With this vast total of exhibits constantly growing, the American Museum could soon profess to be the largest in the world. Its problem was to increase attendance proportionally, in a small city whose inhabitants were not likely to look at warclubs or stuffed mon-

⁴¹ Thomas, *Columbia University Officers and Alumni*, 242.

⁴² After delays, the Spectaculum opening was announced for "this evening" by the *Evening Post* for July 1, 1825.

⁴³ Peale's opening was advertised for the next day in the *Evening Post*, October 25, 1825.

⁴⁴ Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale*, II, 385–86.

⁴⁵ *Evening Post*, January 13, December 23, 1826.

The American Museum

keys a second time until they took their children or grandchildren. Our great public museums of today meet this problem by offering their visitors folk-music and famous movies and planetariums and free lectures and musical concerts. The best the American Museum could do to call in paying customers was to commit its "lecture hall" more and more to vaudeville shows of magicians, freaks, ventriloquists, and tame Indians. Its competitors did the same.

In spite of such side-show commercialism, the City authorities did not oust the museum from the New York Institution until July 1830, though the vast crowds that its entertainments drew were constantly complained of as a nuisance by neighboring landowners. After employing every honest means to hold on to rent-free premises, the Scudder Trustees anticipated this ouster by contracting to lease all but the street-level of a five-story building erected to their specifications on the corner of Ann Street and Broadway, opposite St. Paul's Church. The multitudinous museum collections were moved into four spacious halls at this site before the year's end.

Hoping to unite Scudder's children again, the widow now being dead, John Pintard and his co-Trustees decided to give unreliable young John Scudder another opportunity to manage the American Museum, in keeping with his father's wishes. Accordingly advertisements of the refurbished establishment's opening in its impressive new quarters on Christmas Eve, 1830, announced that the whole exhibition had been "arranged under the direction of Dr. Scudder."⁴⁶ Although not an M.D., John Scudder had for some time been making artificial enamel eyes, and practicing as an oculist.⁴⁷ Stripped to penury by his creditors, he was now as contrite as his vainglorious ego would allow, and pathetically determined to disprove the charge "that he was not a proper person to be trusted in any respect."

The appointment of their disloyal and disreputable brother

⁴⁶ *Evening Post*, December 21, 24, 1830.

⁴⁷ Longworth's Directory for 1830-1831.

to manage the family business, in which he had already forfeited his share, so roused the four Scudder sisters that they brought a suit in Chancery against the American Museum Trustees, charging them with senile incompetency in making such an appointment, and demanding a full financial accounting from them. After backsliding into a drunken brawl in January 1831, John Scudder lost his museum appointment just when the establishment was on its way to profiting some four hundred dollars a year above its average as a result of his clever showmanship. Though his discharge made the lawsuit meaningless, it could not be stayed, and the financial statements demanded by the Court were provided by the Trustees.⁴⁸

Although the cholera outbreak of 1832 came into the period covered by the Trustees' accounts, the museum earned an average of one hundred and fifty dollars per week during that year. Other records filed in the suit show that such an average—totaling more than seven thousand dollars annually—had been maintained for several years. The value of these dollars is indicated by the eleven-dollar weekly salary paid to the establishment's curator-manager, the naturalist Emile Guillaudeau. An annual rent of \$2250 was the major expense. The yearly cost of gas-lighting came to \$660, and \$317 more went into newspaper, poster, and handbill advertising.

Having cleared themselves in the lawsuit, Cornelius Bogert, John Pintard, and George Dixey severed themselves from the Scudder Estate, leaving the direction of the American Museum to Jacob F. Hagadorn, the only Trustee acceptable to Scudder's daughters. Under Hagadorn, and the continuing curatorship of Guillaudeau, the museum advertised that "it alone holds out sources of a sterling character," including kangaroos, an anteater,

⁴⁸ A bulky file of papers connected with this suit is preserved in the N.Y.C. Hall of Records, BM 569 S, which includes exact day-to-day records of the American Museum's receipts and expenditures from March 26, 1832, to February 4, 1833. The claims and counter-claims reveal the constant lobbying of the Trustees, their attempts to sell the Museum to the City, and their financial and other relationships with Scudder's widow and his five children. The charges against the Trustees are lamented in *Letters of John Pintard*, IV, 28–29.

The American Museum

hundreds of East Indian birds,⁴⁹ and the first giraffe in this country. But with the "four spacious apartments" of Peale's rival establishment showing the Java Mermaid and the Siamese Twins,⁵⁰ the American Museum was obliged to counter with similar freaks and fantasies.

The incomes of both these showplaces were badly hit by the New York fire of 1835, which destroyed public confidence as well as hundreds of buildings. In a desperate competition for customers, their lecture halls staged every available variety act from minstrels and gymnasts to a display of the Wild Man from Borneo. Then came the financial crash of 1837. Rubens Peale failed, losing everything he had. His New York Museum went into the hands of speculators more interested in selling stock in it than in improving its displays.⁵¹

The deeply-rooted American Museum survived. As its debts mounted, the Scudder daughters agreed to let their black-sheep brother again employ his gifts of showmanship. The City Directory for 1838-39 lists John Scudder as at the museum, for a last attempt to live up to his father's expectations. The worst was now over, and the receipts of the museum for 1839, and again for 1840, were above eleven thousand dollars.⁵² But with the youngest Scudder daughter a woman grown, it was time to terminate all testamentary arrangements. So the City Surrogate, in July 1841, appointed John Heath, a merchant, to wind up the Scudder Estate.⁵³

Ten years earlier, the Scudder daughters had sought legal restraints to prevent Trustee Cornelius Bogert from selling their father's show for twenty-five thousand. Now they would take what they could get. After dickering with the dubious New York Museum Company which had bought out Rubens Peale,

⁴⁹ *Commercial Advertiser*, September 5, 1833. Constant advertising called public attention to new specimens and entertainments at the Museum.

⁵⁰ *Evening Post*, July 19, 1833, and August 25, 1834.

⁵¹ *The Life of P. T. Barnum, by Himself* (1855), 219-20.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 242.

⁵³ Letters of Administration, Surrogate's Office, N.Y.C. Hall of Records, Liber 39, p. 447.



INTERIOR VIEW OF THE FIRST GRAND HALL OF THE MUSEUM.

AMERICAN MUSEUM AT BROADWAY AND ANN STREET, 1853

After Barnum had taken over the proprietorship from the Scudders

Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion, January 29, 1853

John Heath struck the famous bargain by which P. T. Barnum acquired the American Museum as a going concern for the sum of twelve thousand dollars.⁵⁴ Under Barnum the place would grow to all-surpassing size and fame. But Barnum bought a great established institution which had served the arts and natural history well.

During the four decades and more since Baker's death, this museum's presentations—of things animal, vegetable, aquatic and mineral; of paintings and panoramic views and waxworks; of machines and automatons and chemical and electrical experiments; of primitive implements and mummies and mastodon bones; of magicians, ventriloquists, minstrels and dramatists—had worked as a steady leaven of enlightenment. While traditional educators hesitated, the American Museum carried on as a combined kindergarten, academy, and college for America's culturally neglected Everyman.

⁵⁴ *The Life of P. T. Barnum* (1855), ch. 9.



[NO. 49] GOVERNOR AND MRS. JOHN HANCOCK

By Edward Savage (1761-1817)

*In the collection of The Corcoran Gallery of Art
Bequest of Woodbury Blair*

NEW YORK'S FIRST MAJOR ART SHOW

AS REVIEWED BY ITS FIRST NEWSPAPER CRITIC

IN 1802 AND 1803

by RITA SUSSWEIN GOTTESMAN

Compiler of The Arts and Crafts in New York 1726-1799 (1938, 1954)

THE BEGINNINGS of New York City's interest in art are reflected in the early city newspapers. During the half-century before the Revolution, only eight painters solicited commissions in the local papers, all of them after 1753.¹ But during the remaining quarter of the 18th century, there were advertisements by at least thirty artists. Yet this number was nearly equalled within a mere three-year span immediately following 1800, when more than twenty-five artists listed their accomplishments.² Art exhibitions were at first non-existent, but as the 18th century progressed, we read of "specimens" being on view in shops, taverns, and artists' studios.³ And in the 1790s appeared announcements of exhibitions of painted panoramas and transparencies, of New York's first museum, and of Daniel Bowen's exhibition of paintings and waxworks.⁴ When the 19th century had dawned, even London noted, with a trace of envy and self-

¹ These were: Abraham Delanoy, 1767; John Durand, 1768; Du Simitiere, 1769; Stephen Dwight, 1763; Lawrence Kilburn, 1754; Thomas Mcllworth, 1758; William Birchall Tatley, 1774; William Williams, 1769.—Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York 1726-1776* (The New-York Historical Society, 1938.)

² Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York 1777-1799* (The New-York Historical Society, 1954); survey made for volume III of *Arts and Crafts in New York* to be published by The New-York Historical Society.

³ See, for instance, the *New York Gazette or the Weekly Post-Boy*, September 30, 1754; *New-York Mercury*, September 26, 1757, December 24, 1764; *New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury*, November 9, 1778; *Independent Journal or the General Advertiser*, November 2, 1785; *New-York Daily Advertiser*, June 15, 1791, and *New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, January 12, 1799.

⁴ Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York 1777-1799*, no. 1282—Bowen exhibition; nos. 44, 58, 81—panoramas; nos. 73, 927—museum; nos. 78, 150, 174—transparencies.

New York's First Major Art Show

reproach, the growing American interest in works of art as manifested in the founding of the New-York Academy of Arts.⁵

New York's increasing attention to art reached a climax in 1802, not only with the establishment of its Academy of Art, but also with its first large public exhibition of paintings, which opened at the new Columbian Gallery. This Gallery was an annex of the City Museum which, having been founded in 1789 by the Tammany Society and successively owned and operated by Gardiner Baker, his widow, and William J. Waldron, was acquired by Edward Savage, an artist by trade and a showman by nature.⁶ Savage advertised his purchase in June 1802.⁷ The museum was famous for its exhibition of natural curiosities and Savage did not neglect these, noting that the "Museum will be arranged agreeably to the ideas of Sir Hans Sloane."⁸

In 1802, at the Columbian Gallery, Savage brought together for the first time in New York over 200 paintings and prints from many schools for the public to enjoy and evaluate. He ad-

⁵ The New York *Morning Chronicle*, March 21, 1803, carried the following quotation from the *London Monthly Magazine*: "The vast continent of America abounds with scenery for the exercise of the pencil. Their rivers are upon an immense scale; their mountains are stupendous, and their cataracts are terrific; but notwithstanding the grandeur of their scenery, the natives have hitherto shewn little disposition to the cultivation of the arts in their own country. They now seem desirous of removing this reproach, and appear solicitous to cultivate them. A subscription has been set on foot to defray the expence of procuring from France models of the Venus de Medicis, the Apollo Belvedere, and the group of the Laocoon, as examples for the American students. If this plan should succeed, and of its success there is little doubt, it is intended to carry the institution much farther, and establish an American school, to be furnished with the most perfect productions of the European artist. While objects so much to the honour of the people are pursued in this comparatively new country; while there are public galleries in so many cities on the continent; an imperial gallery at Vienna; an electoral gallery at Dusseldorff; and so incalculable a collection of capital works of art at Paris: how must it excite astonishment to reflect that there is no public gallery of pictures in London!"

⁶ Robert M. and Gale S. McClung, "Tammany's Remarkable Gardiner Baker, New York's First Museum Proprietor, Menagerie Keeper, and Promoter Extraordinary," in *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, April 1958, 143-69. Edward Savage had run the Columbian Gallery in Philadelphia, 1796-1800, and exhibited the first panorama there. See Harold E. Dickson, *John Wesley Jarvis* (NYHS, 1949), ch. on "The Great Savage" [1796-1801], 35-57 *passim*.

⁷ New York *Daily Advertiser*, June 10, 1802.

⁸ Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), a British physician and naturalist, whose collection of botanical specimens as well as of books and manuscripts formed the nucleus of the British Museum.

vertised it as "the richest collection of valuable paintings ever exhibited on the shores of Columbia."⁹

By a fortunate coincidence, the year 1802 saw the beginning of a new newspaper in New York, the *Morning Chronicle*, which its editor and publisher, Dr. Peter Irving, launched to promote Burrish politics but also to cultivate taste in literature and the arts. Cultural activities were often reviewed by its editor and sometimes by his nineteen-year-old brother, Washington Irving, whose contribution included the pseudonymous "Jonathan Oldstyle" series. From November 5, 1802, through January 3, 1803, at irregular intervals, someone who signed himself "An Admirer of the Polite Arts" reviewed the exhibition at the Columbian Gallery.¹⁰ It is intriguing to speculate whether Washington Irving, who occasionally entertained himself with a drawing pencil but ignored Washington Allston's advice to take up painting seriously, may not have been this critic "Admirer." Whoever he was, he failed to complete his review of the exhibition. After commenting on ninety-nine—less than half—of the paintings and prints the "Admirer" became discouraged with their arrangement, and wrote:

One word, however, to the Proprietor of the Gallery. His BEST PICTURES are placed so *low* as to render it impossible to have a good view of them, *without lying flat on the floor*. This calls for a speedy arrangement for the better, and when such is made, we shall notice it in our remarks.¹¹

Apparently Savage did not act upon his critic's advice. At any rate, the series of reviews was never resumed. Nevertheless, it remains the most extensive contemporary comment on what New Yorkers could see in the way of art up to that time. As the first detailed account of the first large art showing in the city, it is worthy of reproduction in full. The "Admirer of the Polite Arts" prefaces his item-by-item listing with the following comment:

⁹ New York *Mercantile Advertiser*, August 21, 1802.

¹⁰ Dates of the reviews of the Columbian Gallery in the *Morning Chronicle* are: November 5, 6, 10, 18, and 29, and December 23, 1802; January 3, 1803.

¹¹ New York *Morning Chronicle*, January 3, 1803.

New York's First Major Art Show

Sir, Seeing your paper a few days ago, a communication from a correspondent, who wished to direct the public attention to the exertions of an individual laboring to re-organize the institution of a City Museum, and whose collection of paintings and prints are together with the curiosities, worthy of a liberal support. Permit me to make a few observations on both. It is well known how materially injured the first has been from carelessness, ignorance, inattention and other causes, and how many difficulties and impediments attend the procuring of Nature's curious works. The Tammany Society were the first to establish a Museum in the city of New-York. The late Gardiner Baker was fixed on as a man whose talents, industry and integrity capacitated him for the care of it. Time proved their choice was prudent, but at his decease we have to lament, that more care was not employed.

Philadelphia boasts a good Museum so I trust will New-York, under the fostering hand of its citizens. The extensive trade of this port affords good opportunities for the importation of foreign productions and at home assiduity and perseverance will do much. The present collection is small, in a good state of preservation, and sufficiently interesting. The present proprietor will, it is hoped, exert himself, as well for his own sake, as the pleasure and instruction of his visitors.

I next wish to speak of the paintings; and, as a particular description of them may be grateful to many of your readers, I will endeavor to assign to each thing several beauties and blemishes; but being 204 [*sic*] in number, they may be the subject of frequent communications.

Wherever necessary and possible, I have attempted to identify each work listed and the artist who created it. I have also indicated, when possible, where it or a print of it may be found today. These annotations are given as footnotes to the document.

No. 1. A portrait of Hannaman. Whether this is a *faithful likeness* of the original would be difficult to ascertain: it is however, painted by himself, and finished in a manner which is no disgrace to his pencil.¹²

Nos. 2 and 3. A beggar man and woman. Age has imparted to these a precious patina. The painter, (who is unknown) has contrived to give his colors the greatest transparency, and no less harmony, notwithstanding the extraordinary deepness of them. They are done in a strength and grandeur of style peculiarly interesting.

No. 4. The finding of Moses. This comes from the inimitable pencil of Bourbon [*sic*]. The costume he has happily preserved; it abounds with

¹² Adriaen Hanneman (1601-1669), Dutch portrait painter. A photograph of a self-portrait is in the Frick Art Reference Library. The original was bought in London (1894) for the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. It was listed as in Daniel Bowen's exhibition of paintings in New York City in the *Columbian Gazetteer*, June 9, 1794.



[NO. 4] THE FINDING OF MOSES

By Sébastien Bourdon (1616-1671)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., Samuel H. Kress Collection, Loan

life, learning and dignity; gracefulness, ease and vivacity; and may in truth be pronounced among the best of his productions.¹³

No. 5. A Dutch kitchen. This is done in the usual humorous style of Hemskirk. In his works we behold that sweetness of coloring which is produced by union; that beauty which is consistent with truth; all the insensible transmutations; all the soft transitions; and in a word, all the pleasing modulations of tints and colors.¹⁴

No. 6. Liberty, as the goddess of youth, giving nourishment to the Bald Eagle, &c. &c. The print taken from this has had so extensive a circulation as to preclude the necessity of any other observation. The following lines refer to the subject:

*Welcome fair Goddess! to this western shore,
Where chains can bind, and sceptres sway no more;
Beneath thy foot th' infernal key be trod,*

¹³ Sebastien Bourdon (1616-1671), French historical painter. His "Finding of Moses" is in the Kress collection at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C.

¹⁴ Egbert van Heemskerck (1645-1704), Dutch genre painter. "A Dutch Kitchen" is owned by The New-York Historical Society where it is documented as the one exhibited in the Columbian Gallery.

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*Which erst, doom'd slavery, at the tyrants' nod:
Bid eastern climes adieu— they spurn thy sway;
Here feed thine Eagle in the blaze of day:
So shall the bird of Jove uphold thy name,
And ne'er Columbia yield to Roman fame.*

No. 7. The landing of Columbus. This is taken from a picture in the collection of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. In comparing the features of Columbus in this painting with a likeness done for the London Biographical Magazine, a considerable difference appears; but the colouring is lively, the features fine, the penciling bold, the flow of drapery easy, the groups well disposed, the degradation well conducted, and the contrast both natural and ingenious.¹⁵

No. 8. Venus disarming Cupid. Mrs. Pine has produced many things superior to this in symmetry and coloring—it cannot be praised for either.¹⁶

No. 9. Deserted village. An engraving from Sherwin.

No. 10. The same engraver, and the subject a happy village. Both possess merit in their way.

No. 11. Cleopatra, by Vandyke. This is certainly one of his early pieces. In coloring he surpassed his tutor Rubens. The proportion is not exact; in the hands there is too great a profusion of drapery; but the costume is just, and the expression very fine.

No. 12. The eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in '79.

No. 13. The eruption of Mount Aetna, in 1787. Both of these are done by Mr. Savage. He has succeeded well in softening and strengthening his shades, according to the quality of the light falling in the scene.¹⁷

No. 14. A portrait of governor Samuel Adams—unfinished—therefore will not bear criticism.

No. 15. Cardinal Beaufort's Bed Chamber. This is a print done by the famous Heath, from Sir Joshua Reynolds.

*Lord Cardinal, if thou think'st on heaven's bliss,
Hold up thy hands; make signal of thy hope:
He dies and makes no signs—O God forgive him!*

Shakespear's Henry VI.

In the cardinal's face is powerfully depicted remorse and despair.

¹⁵ The Worcester Art Museum possesses a print of "The Landing of Columbus" engraved by David Edwin, after a painting by Edward Savage, said to have been copied from the original picture in the collection of the Grand Duke of Tuscany at Florence. Edward Savage advertised in 1802 that among the paintings of his own which he brought to the Columbian Gallery was the original of Columbus first landing in the New World, size of life.

¹⁶ Mrs. Pine was the wife of Robert Edge Pine and sister of Alexander Cozens, both of whom were outstanding artists. She assisted her husband in his drawing school and may well have indulged in painting also.

¹⁷ The Worcester Art Museum has two mezzotints of the "Eruption of Mount Aetna," published by Edward Savage.



[NO. 18] MR. [BENJAMIN] WEST AND FAMILY

Engraved by G. S. & J. G. Facius after painting by Benjamin West

Published by John Boydell (London: 1779)

Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

No. 16. A full length portrait of the late president, Mr. Adams, by Trumbull—executed in a good style, and a faithful likeness.¹⁸

No. 17. A Study, by Romney. This is a figure of a lady—she is represented with her head reclining, and supported by her right hand. Her beautiful countenance bears the most emphatic expression of a soul sunk in the most profound thought, and rendered by its deep sorrow insensible and inattentive to all external objects and impressions.¹⁹

No. 18. Sir Benjamin West's Family. This is a print engraved in a coarse manner, and, like a bad looking glass, gives but a deformed copy of the original.²⁰

¹⁸ This and the unfinished portrait of Samuel Adams [No. 14] may well have been studies made by John Trumbull in preparation for his "Declaration of Independence." They are not catalogued in Theodore Sizer's *The Works of Colonel John Trumbull, Artist of the American Revolution* (New Haven: 1950).

¹⁹ George Romney (1734–1802), English. The lady in the "Study" was probably his favorite model, Lady Hamilton.

²⁰ The Chicago Historical Society has an engraving of "Mr. West and Family," purchased from the Gunther Collection in 1920. It was published in London, 1779.



[NO. 20] CHARLES II LANDING ON THE BEACH AT DOVER

Engraved by Alois Kessler after painting by Benjamin West

The Baltimore Museum of Art, Garrett Collection

No. 19. A Study by Romney. This is also a female. An air of *non chalance* in the countenance spoils the intended effect.

No. 20. King Charles the Second landing on the beach of Dover. This is engraved from a painting of Sir B. West's, in a masterly manner. The groups are well disposed and not crowded.

No. 21. A portrait of Mrs. Anne Ratcliffe, authoress of the *Italian, Romance of the Forest, Mysteries of Udolpho, Travels through Flanders, &c. &c.* In her countenance we trace what her writings bespeak her, a woman of learning, dignity and sensibility.²¹

No. 22. Elijah raiseth the Widow's Son, a print from Sir Benjamin West.²²

²¹ Advertised in the *New York Morning Chronicle*, September 24, 1803: "Mrs. Radcliffe's Journey. A few copies of Mrs. Radcliffe's *Travels in Germany—on the Rhine, &c.* for sale at the Shakspeare Gallery. It is sufficient commendation of them to say they are by the author of the *Mysteries of Udolpho*."

²² In the files of the Frick Art Reference Library is a photograph of C. W. Peale's "Elisha Raising the Shunammite's Son"; it was copied from the picture which Benjamin West had just completed at the time of C. W. Peale's arrival in London. It is from the collection of Charles Coleman Sellers.



[No. 44] OLIVER CROMWELL DISSOLVING THE LONG PARLIAMENT

Engraved by John Hall, 1789, after painting by Benjamin West

The Baltimore Museum of Art, Garrett Collection

No. 23. Nathan reproving David, a print from the same. Both possess considerable merit.

Nos. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29—prints.—The subjects, Ahasuerus, Esther, Haman, Mordecai &c. &c. The originals were drawn by Mrs. Beauverlet, and engraved by her husband, perhaps the best artist in his line in existence. We can never sufficiently admire and praise these incomparable productions. To enumerate their excellencies would take up a volume.²³

No. 30. The fight between the Horatii and Curiatii. Prints from Le Barbier.²⁴

No. 31. Penelope and Ulysses—from the same. Both chaste and correct.

No. 32, 33, and 34. Engravings from Collet, Paggi and Renault.

No. 35. The taking down from the Cross, with the two side pieces, from Rubens.—The original of this well-known picture long adorned St.

²³ Jacques Firmin Beauvarlet was a French engraver who lived from 1731 to 1795. Two of his three wives were artists—Catherine Françoise Deschamps and Marie Catherine Riollet.

²⁴ Jean Jacques François LeBarbier (1738–1826), French historical painter and illustrator.



[NO. 46] GEORGETOWN AND FEDERAL CITY OR CITY OF WASHINGTON

Aquatint by J. Cartwright after G. Beck (Philadelphia and London: 1801)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Gift of Otis T. Bradley)

James's Church, Antwerp, but is now in possession of the French: its superlative excellence needs not be mentioned.

Nos. 36, 37, 38 and 39, prints. Different subjects.

Nos. 40 and 41. The first, a view of the Middle Ferry over the Schuyl-kill. The other, a view of Lancaster—both by *Beck*—faithful representations, but destitute of minute beauties of circumstantial *finishing* which is so grateful to the eye.²⁵

No. 42. One of Alexander's battles. To say that *Le Brun* is the artist is a sufficient testimony of its excellence.²⁶

No. 43. A mad woman in chains, by *Pine*. The eyes sufficiently evince mental derangement; they have plenitude without superfluity.²⁷

²⁵ George Beck (1748 or '50–1812) was an English-born landscape painter who came to America in 1795, and for the next dozen years worked mainly in Baltimore and Philadelphia, then moved to Kentucky.

²⁶ Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), French historical and portrait painter. A fine historical picture by Le Brun was listed in "A Catalogue of Cabinet Pictures, in the possession of Nathaniel Delvalletooth" as exhibited in the Columbian Picture Gallery at 146 Fulton Street, N.Y., in 1818.

²⁷ In the *Pennsylvania Packet* of August 1793, Daniel Bowen advertised that "in consequence of a Purchase lately made by him of all the large and elegant Paintings



[NO. 47] BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Aquatint by J. Cartwright after G. Beck (Philadelphia and London: 1802)

The New-York Historical Society

No. 44. Oliver Cromwell dissolving the long parliament; print from *Sir B. West*; very well engraved.

No. 45. A portrait of David Rittenhouse; by *Savage*. We are pleased to see a considerable portion of pains has been taken with this to finish it in a style worthy of *public exhibition*.²⁸

Nos. 46 and 47. The first, a view of the city of Washington: the latter, a view of the harbour and city of Baltimore; both by *Beck*; well finished, and good representations.²⁹

executed by the late celebrated Mr. Robert Edge Pine," he would continue his exhibition in Philadelphia. Later he moved his show to New York and then to Boston. In Boston he advertised that he had a hundred paintings valued at one thousand dollars by the late Robert E. Pine. In 1807 Bowen's galleries were destroyed by fire and many of Pine's paintings were lost forever. "A Mad Woman" was listed in Bowen's exhibition in New York (*Columbian Gazetteer*, June 9, 1794).

²⁸ The Worcester Art Museum has a mezzotint of David Rittenhouse by Edward Savage after a painting by Charles Willson Peale. In the *Philadelphia Gazette of the United States*, December 29, 1796, Edward Savage advertised that the print of David Rittenhouse was ready for sale. The Princeton University Library copy is reproduced in its publication of Howard C. Rice, Jr., *The Rittenhouse Orrery* (1954).

²⁹ The "View of the City of Washington" engraved by J. Cartwright after

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No. 48. General Washington, and family; by *Savage*. The general is seated by a table, dressed in his uniform; his left hand rests on papers: Mrs. Washington sits opposite, holding the plan of the federal city, pointing with her fan to the grand avenue; Miss Custis stands by her side, assisting in shewing the plan; George Washington Custis stands by the general, his right hand resting on a globe. The back ground is composed of columns and a large curtain partly drawn up, under which appears a view of thirty miles down the Potowmac from Mount Vernon. In the General appears the serene commanding aspect of a venerable man, whose presence alone calms the tempest, and calls to our remembrance the beautiful picture drawn by Virgil.—“*Tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem conspexere—silent—et arectis auribus adstant.*”

We cannot sufficiently admire the drapery of Mrs. Washington; it is inexpressibly graceful—the small folds arise by the gentle gradation of an imperceptible curve from the grand and bold parts of the drapery, and are again dissolved in *these* parts with a noble liberty. In the whole reigns harmony, correctness, and beauty.³⁰

No. 49. A portrait of governor Hancock and Lady, size of life; by *Savage*. This being unfinished and placed by the Washington family, is, no doubt, meant to give an additional zest to the effect produced from beholding one of the best pictures in the gallery.³¹

No. 50. A portrait of Sir Benjamin West, by *himself*. Here indeed we behold a *finished* portrait; the refined and masterly touches which this great artist has bestowed on this piece, form a rich and delicious feast for the eye: he sits in an elegant and easy position by a table, his left hand reclined with a graceful negligence on some historical books: the back ground presents a view of Somerset House.

No. 51. David playing before Saul; by *Borgennes*. This beautiful, well dispersed, and rich colored painting, has suffered considerable from time, but the soul and energy which this production receives from the creating hand of Borgennes, renders it, even to this day, animated and effecting.

No. 52. Time clipping the wings of Cupid; by *Pine*. The works of this artist are done in a style peculiar to himself, and generally possess considerable merit: the present adds to his reputation.³²

No. 53. A goat, dog, turkeys, fowls, cats and Guinea pigs; by *Rosa*.

George Beck is in the National Gallery of Art at Washington, D. C. The “View of the Harbour and City of Baltimore,” also engraved by J. Cartwright after George Beck, is in The New-York Historical Society.

³⁰ The painting of “General Washington and Family” by Edward Savage in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C., is the same one that was exhibited in the Columbian Gallery.

³¹ The “Portrait of Governor Hancock and Lady” by Savage is in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

³² “Time clipping Cupid’s wings” was listed in Daniel Bowen’s exhibition in New York (*Columbian Gazetteer*, June 9, 1794) and presumably was lost by fire in 1807.



[NO. 48] THE WASHINGTON FAMILY

By Edward Savage (1761-1817)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., Mellon Collection

This Italian was famous for painting animals in a lively, animated manner. We are almost tempted to believe the whole groupe in real existence.³³

No. 54. A portrait of gen. Wayne, by *Savage*—A good likeness, clear coloring, meritorious to the artist.³⁴

No. 55. A portrait of Dr. Franklin, by *Savage*. Without hesitation we pronounce this to be the best and highest finished portrait by the same pencil. It bids defiance to censure from the most scrupulous critic.³⁵

No. 56. A flower pot and flowers, by a *lady of New-York*. Beautiful and bewitching artist! those flowers are emblems of thyself. The pure and unspotted lilly, in luxuriant contrast with the lovely, blooming, full blown, fascinating rose, invites the enchanted beholder to banquet on the grateful sensations they are suited to produce.³⁶

³³ Salvator Rosa, born near Naples 1615, died in Rome 1673.

³⁴ The New-York Historical Society has the *Savage* portrait of General Wayne which was exhibited in the Columbian Gallery.

³⁵ The Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts, has a print of the Benjamin Franklin portrait by *Savage*.

³⁶ Miss Anne Hall received instructions from Alexander Robertson. "With these

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No. 57. A scouting party overtaken, by *Pasalve*. Never have we seen more effect produced from any painting than this. We are informed the proprietor is to dispose of it for five hundred dollars, but hope the report is without foundation; as it is certainly among the best pictures in the gallery, and we take the liberty to remind him he should rather increase than diminish his number.

No. 58. The moon rising: the painter, who is unknown, has succeeded in giving to this picture, the happiest tints of light and shade: the figures are no less interesting; the perspective just, and the chiaroscuro observed with chastity and correctness.

No. 59. A landscape with old ruins, by *Morgiu*. If his pallet and pencils were buried under them, and the whole consigned to the waters of Lethe, it would be no great matter of regret.

No. 60. A landscape with old ruins, by the same. This is the second part of the same tune, but more flat and insipid.

No. 61. The chymist—an old picture, and once a very fine one. In cleaning it much of its original lustre was destroyed, and at present it exhibits but a faint resemblance of what it was.

No. 62. The vulcanos of Stromboli and Lissazi, by *Lamezielol*. For strength of colouring and grandeur it must be praised; yet we think that there is too great an infringement of the light upon the shade, in some places.

The painting of an extraordinary late discovered animal is interesting, and beautiful: we understand that the original is in possession of a Mr. Gillery, who killed it, and means to present it to the royal society. We recommend that, if possible, different views of it might be taken.³⁷

No. 63. Washing, by Mitchell—a small and well executed painting; the coloring peculiarly excellent.

No. 64. Putting the bird in the cage, by Mitchell—a lively and animated painting, with glowing colors.

No. 65. Ironing, by the same—done in the same style, and boasting the same merits of the two preceding.

No. 66. Oranges, grapes, oysters, &c. by Deham. This picture has a

[materials for painting] she used to imitate nature; and few of the beautiful flowers, birds, fishes, or insects, which inhabited the neighbouring woods and streams, escaped the eye or the pencil of the young artist."—Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (1834), II, 368. Maybe the above "bewitching artist" was Anne Hall.

³⁷ The New York *Daily Advertiser*, December 4, 1802: "To the Editor of the Daily Advertiser—Sir, Having been informed that Mr. D. McGillevray, a Gentleman from Canada, had in his possession, the Skin of a non-descript animal, I made application to him, for leave to make a drawing of it, to enrich the Columbian Gallery. He very politely indulged my request, and at my solicitation, has favoured me with the following account, which elucidates the drawing, and which may gratify the public curiosity. E. Savage." A two-column description of "My-Attic, or Mountain Ram" follows this letter.

claim to be marked among the best in the exhibition, as being truly and exactly after nature.

No. 67. The Tent of Darius, by Crawley. This young and wonderful artist has here presented us with a piece which strikes the eye even of a superficial beholder, as possessing more than common merit. We perceive he has copied Bourbon in the style of his coloring, and Le Brun in the disposition of his groups. Some of the figures, however, are wanting in strength of expression. We have no doubt of seeing the works of this artist praised by every connoisseur who sees them.³⁸

No. 68. Cupid stung by a bee—E. Savage, the painter. We recognize this to be a copy from Sir Benjamin West. We allow it to be a close one.³⁹

No. 69. A landscape with the mill-piece, artist unknown, not worthy of remark.

No. 70. The Strawberry-Girl, a print from Sir Joshua Reynolds—a contemptible copy of the excellent original.

No. 71. The Representation of our Saviour, by Reubens.—Language is inadequate to give the just description of this original painting. Meekness and sublimity is portrayed in every feature with that sweetness and harmony of coloring which characterized that Great Master.

No. 72. A Crown of Pearls and Jewelry, by Collins—the highest finished painting in the Gallery.

Nos. 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, Engravings, but not so highly finished as to deserve particular notice.

No. 80. The Genius of Modesty preventing Love unveiling Beauty, by Canniani. We take the liberty to recommend the removal of this picture from the gallery, for two reasons: 1st, for having a tendency to offend the virtuous eyes of those chaste females who visit this fashionable lounge; and secondly, as it gives room for an indecent remark from the merry and impertinent wags, who seize every opportunity, in the presence of fair ones, to display their wit, by some *heureuse pensee*.

No. 81. A Village—an engraving well executed, from Canniani.

No. 82. James Bruce discovering the source of the Nile, by Gillray. The painter seems to be as clever at *invention*, as the object of his pencil was; and, like him, has *endeavoured* to give his production a *natural colouring* but without effect.

No. 83. The Farmer's visit to his married daughter in town.

No. 84. The visit returned in the country. These prints that are well known, from Morland; their merits are generally admired.⁴⁰

³⁸ John Crawley (c. 1784–1842 or later), born in England but lived and worked in Newark, N.J., Philadelphia, Charleston, S.C., Norfolk, and Richmond, Va.

³⁹ A reproduction of West's "Cupid Stung by a Bee Is Cherished by His Mother" is in the Frick Art Reference Library. It was taken from the catalogue of a collection sold in London in 1927.

⁴⁰ These prints, engraved by W. Bond, were published as a pair in London in 1789, and both are represented in the British Museum.

New York's First Major Art Show

No. 85. Diogenes in search of an honest man; a copy from Rosa. We could wish it resembled, in some degree, the beauties of the original.

No. 86. The castle of Columbus; the first building of any consequence, erected in the western hemisphere, by Cowley. The rules of perspective are, in some places, violated; but this we will readily pardon, as the young artist is but just studying that branch.

No. 87. The harmony between history and poetry; a print from Guido. We shall notice this, and the seven following engravings, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, and 94, merely by saying they are well chosen from the original paintings by Chiari, Peters, Teners, Cheeseman, Rembrant, Caracci and Rubens.

No. 95. A portrait of the President of the United States, by Savage. This artist is certainly happy in taking *strong likenesses* and this perhaps is the chef d'œuvre of his pencil.

No. 96. A detachment of cavalry stopping at a tavern, by Diebot; a small but well disposed piece, and possessing no small share of merit.

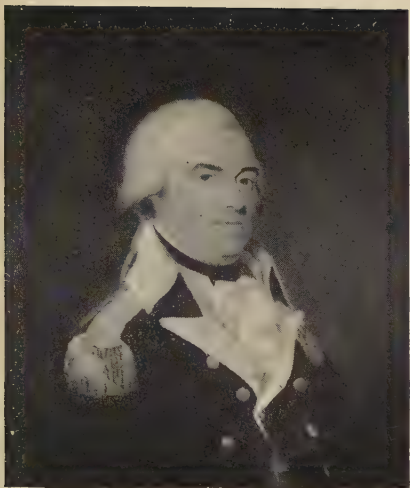
No. 97. A boquet of flowers.

No. 98. do. do. These come from that celebrated copier of nature, *Vempsperdoadle*; and are, indeed, a feast for the eye. They exhibit all that richness of colouring, and variety of shades, which the subject so well affords, and which is ever grateful to the amateur.

No. 99. A fox catching a fowl, artist not known. From the stile of this painting, we can with safety declare it to be the production of Rosa. His beautiful and masterly touches are easily recognized.

It is regrettable that our reviewer did not complete his comments on the Columbian exhibition. But he did leave with us a knowledge of the kind of art which could be seen by the early 19th-century New Yorker. He could enjoy a diversified collection of American, Dutch, French, English, and Italian art that was both "ancient and modern." He could view portraits, landscapes, genre, allegorical paintings, still lifes, historical and biblical scenes. More than half of them seem to have been original paintings; the rest, prints or copies. The surprising fact is that so many of the paintings and prints were of American subjects, by American artists, and for American viewers.

Only a few of the art works here listed are known to have survived. Three are documented as those that hung in the Columbian Gallery. "A Dutch Kitchen" by Heemskerck and "General Wayne" by Edward Savage are in The New-York Historical Society. "General Washington and Family" by Edward



[NO. 54] ANTHONY WAYNE

By Edward Savage

The New-York Historical Society



[NO. 5] A DUTCH KITCHEN

By Egbert van Heemskerck

The New-York Historical Society

Savage is in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C. The portrait of "Governor Hancock and Lady" in the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D. C., is probably the same that graced the walls of the Columbian Gallery. And it is also probable that "The Finding of Moses" by Sebastien Bourdon in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C., is the same painting as hung in the 1802 exhibition.

I have not been able to trace the paintings of Robert Edge Pine that were mentioned in the exhibition. Many of Pine's works were bought by Daniel Bowen whose exhibition was destroyed by fire in Boston in 1807.

The prints and paintings that were not sold to private collectors were probably taken over by subsequent owners of the American Museum—John Scudder, his heirs, and finally P. T. Barnum. Two fires in Barnum's museum, in 1865 and 1868, destroyed much of what was left. With all this it is fortunate that any of the paintings in the exhibit survived.



ROBERT M. HARTLEY (1796-1881), FOUNDER OF THE AICP

Artotype by E. Bierstadt, N. Y. C.

The New-York Historical Society

THE NEW YORK ASSOCIATION FOR IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE POOR: THE FORMATIVE YEARS

by ROY LUBOVE

Department of History, Cornell University

THE PANIC of 1837 caused great hardship to the working class of New York City. Existing relief agencies, both public and private, proved hopelessly inadequate to the task of relieving thousands of unemployed. Concerned citizens in many wards set up temporary relief committees to aid the destitute. In the Sixth Ward, for example, where Horace Greeley lived during the winter of 1837-1838, "a public meeting of its citizens was . . . held early in December." As a result of this meeting a central executive committee was formed which appointed subcommittees "to canvass the Ward from house to house, collect funds from those who could and would spare anything, ascertain the nature and extent of the existing destitution, and devise ways and means for its systematic relief." The Sixth Ward relief committee established a common store stocked with such necessities as food and fuel, which were then distributed to the needy. To supplement and coördinate the work of the ward agencies, a city-wide central committee was formed in December. By 1840 some thirty to forty relief-giving organizations were operating in New York. Despite these efforts, destitution was widespread during the depression years; thousands of beggars and vagrants stalked the streets of Manhattan.¹

¹ The quotations are from Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York: 1868), 145. For further information on social conditions in New York during the depression, and the charitable response, see Frank Dekker Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States: A Study in American Philanthropy* (New York: 1922), 79 ff.; David M. Schneider, *The History of Public Welfare in New York State, 1609-1866* (Chicago: 1938), 262-265; New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, *First Annual Report, 1845*; Samuel Rezneck,

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The one service which the depression performed for the poor was to reveal to New Yorkers the inadequacy of the existing private charity structure. There were too many limited and uncoordinated groups, apart from the spontaneous ward-relief committees, to deal efficiently with urban poverty. The American Female Guardian Society, for example, succored mainly destitute women and girls. There were various denominational orphan asylums. There was an association for the relief of "Respectable Aged Indigent Females," and a society for the relief of "Poor Widows with Small Children."² What was lacking was coordination between these groups and others, as well as a single city-wide agency for the general amelioration of poverty.

Organization

The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (AICP) was a direct outgrowth of the private charities' weakness as revealed by the depression of 1837. In the winter of 1842-1843, "a number of gentlemen . . . appointed a select committee and an agent [Robert M. Hartley], to whom the whole subject was referred for careful examination . . ."³ The select committee reported that existing "modes of relief" were inadequate and recommended the creation of a new, city-wide charity organization. In this way the AICP was born in 1843.⁴ In the two decades before the Civil War, the Association was to become one of the most influential private charity organizations in the United States. The AICP, through skillful leadership and or-

"The Social History of an American Depression, 1837-1843," *American Historical Review*, XL (1934-35), 662-87.

² For information on private charity groups other than the AICP which operated in New York in the three decades before the Civil War consult: The Bureau of Charities, *Directory to the Charities of New York* (New York: 1874); J. F. Richmond, *New York and Its Institutions, 1609-1872* (New York: 1872); Henry J. Cammann and Hugh N. Camp, *The Charities of New York, Brooklyn and Staten Island* (New York: 1868).

³ AICP, *First Annual Report*, 1845, 15.

⁴ Until 1847 the AICP called itself the New York Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor. In 1847 the name was changed to the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.



HEADQUARTERS OF THE AICP, 1845-1852

Corner of Grand and Elm Streets, New York City

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, Feb. 16, 1856, p. 153

ganization, evolved into a leading spokesman for an urban middle class increasingly bewildered by the rapid spread of poverty. In exploring the causes and consequences of destitution the AICP, as we shall see, reflected both the fears and hopes of middle-class Americans striving to ameliorate the conditions of the poor.

The AICP divided the city into sixteen districts corresponding to the wards of Manhattan Island. The districts, in turn, were subdivided into sections. Each district was controlled by an advisory committee of five or more members. The advisory committees appointed "visitors" for each section, and these men "visited" the poor in their homes in order to elicit information on their condition and distribute relief. In its first year of operation the AICP covered Manhattan from the Battery to 40th Street. The sixteen districts mentioned above were divided into 278 sections with a visitor for each. As Manhattan expanded northward, so also did the AICP. By 1852 the Island was divided into 337 sections; the territory covered ran from the Battery to 86th Street and from river to river.

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The policy of the AICP was determined by a board of managers consisting of the president, five vice-presidents, the treasurer, the secretary and general agent and one hundred members including the district advisory committees. The board of managers met initially three times a year while the annual meeting of



THE BIBLE HOUSE: HOME OF THE AICP,
1853-1880

Fourth Avenue between 8th and 9th Streets

Shannon, *Manual of the Corporation of the City
of New York* (1868), 447

the AICP was set for the month of November. In the intervals between the meetings of the board, AICP affairs were run by an executive committee consisting of seven elected members and the chairmen of the advisory committees.

The AICP relied heavily upon the intelligence and discretion of the advisory committees. It was their responsibility to subdivide their districts into manageable sections (usually of twenty-five families) and to obtain capable visitors. The advisory committees also were expected "to make the necessary arrangements for placing at the disposal of the Visitors, food, fuel and clothing, for distribution . . ." Finally, the advisory committees were expected to meet monthly in order to receive and discuss the reports of the visitors.

No individual could receive relief from the AICP except with

the approval of his sectional visitor. The visitor, in turn, before he could grant relief, was expected to "carefully investigate all cases . . .; ascertain their condition, their habit of life; and means of subsistence" Once the visitor had approved an individual's request for relief, the former would petition the district committee for the necessary food, fuel, and clothing. The direct grant of money was frowned upon by the AICP as detrimental to character.

Membership in the AICP was open to all visitors and to all those who subscribed an annual sum. The AICP received no municipal subsidies; it depended entirely for its support upon private contributions. Annual receipts and expenditures between 1845 and 1857 averaged roughly \$30,000. The average number of families relieved during these same years was, roughly again, sixty-five hundred.⁵

Character of the Sponsors

The dominating figure of the AICP from its founding until his retirement in the mid-seventies was Robert Milham Hartley. Hartley was born in Cockermouth, England, in 1796. His parents emigrated to the United States when Hartley was three years old. The family landed in New York City, but soon moved up-state. Hartley's father divided his time between woolen manufacture and farming. His mother was an intensely religious woman from whom Hartley absorbed at an early age the religious zeal which more than anything else shaped his character.

In the 1820s Hartley moved to New York City, first becoming a salesman for a merchandiser and then establishing his own mercantile house. Hartley was not so busy, however, that he could not find time to join and actively participate in the affairs of the

⁵ Details relating to the formal organization of the AICP are covered in the annual reports, each of which contains the constitution and by-laws. The first annual report contains also a copy of the visitor's manual, an important statement of the purposes and objectives of the AICP. Yearly receipts and expenditures are also contained in the annual reports, as are statistics relating to the number of families and individuals aided.

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Central Presbyterian Church. Indeed, his first introduction to the problems of the poor resulted from his "labor of tract distribution and visitation." In this way, he came to know "the great moral wants of the city in which he now lived, and for whose elevation and improvement he constantly yearned."⁶

Hartley very soon became interested in the temperance cause, and when the New York City Temperance Society was organized in March 1829, Hartley quickly became a "friend and counselor to the society." In 1833, he retired from active participation in business in order to devote all his time to temperance reform. The New York Society elected him to the post of corresponding secretary and agent. It is not surprising that the AICP never tired during Hartley's reign of denouncing intemperance. In his own words, intemperance

is the master vice, exerting above all other evil influences a steady and determined opposition to every good word and work; yet ever manifesting in its effects, a peculiar malignity to spiritual and eternal truths. This, as facts fully attest, being its character in pagan as well as in christian lands, it stands directly opposed to the divine plan for the moral government and renovation of the world.⁷

An offshoot of Hartley's personal crusade against the demon rum were his valuable efforts on behalf of pure milk. It was a common practice during the 1840s and '50s for whiskey distillers to sell their used grain to dairymen as feed for cattle. Hartley claimed that 18,000 cows in New York City and the surrounding area were being fed on the "residuum or slush of grain, after it had undergone a chemical change, and [came] reeking hot from the distillers" Hartley demanded legislation to outlaw this traffic in adulterated milk.⁸

After the AICP was organized, Hartley resigned his office in the Temperance Society. He served the AICP as corresponding secretary and agent for over thirty years. In large measure the

⁶ Isaac Smithson Hartley, ed., *Memorial of Robert Milham Hartley* (Utica: 1882), 86.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 156. An ineffective measure preventing "the traffic in impure . . . milk" was finally passed in 1862.

ideals and objectives of the AICP, its accomplishments and failures, can be traced to their source in the person of Robert M. Hartley.

The other leaders of the crusade for the amelioration of poverty in the years before the Civil War were also individuals like Hartley—Protestant middle-class merchants and professional men, supported by many shopkeepers and artisans. This is understandable, since the financial drain for the public support of the urban poor fell largely upon them, and more importantly, because the growing numbers of immigrant poor menaced the Protestant middle-class virtues which they cherished. This was also true for cities other than New York. For instance, of fifty officials of the Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Poverty about whom information has been found, no less than thirty-five were merchants, manufacturers, craftsmen and storekeepers, and all but three were Protestant.⁹ An examination of the background of the chief office-holders and the advisory committees of the AICP yields similar results. Of a total of seventy-three about whom information could be found twenty-five could be classified as merchants and another twenty as retailers and artisans. There was also a scattering of lawyers, doctors, and manufacturers.¹⁰ The thirteenth annual report of the AICP leaves little doubt as to the religious affiliations of the membership:

The fact is inscribed all over the records of our public almsgiving and criminal institutions, our private, individual and organized charities, that the great mass of our paupers and felons are of foreign birth or parentage, and chiefly Roman Catholics. The records of this Association show that more than seventy-five percent of its beneficiaries are of the same class, and consequently, that a corresponding ratio of its labors and outlays are for their benefit—while not one percent of its pecuniary means—which are wholly derived from private sources—come from persons of that faith.¹¹

⁹ Blanche D. Coll, "The Baltimore Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, 1820-1822," *American Historical Review*, LXI (1955-56), 77-87.

¹⁰ The membership list was compiled from the first annual report of the AICP. Sources used to discover occupational backgrounds included the following New York City Directories: John Doggett, Jr., 1842-1843, 1846-1847; Longworth, 1840-1841; Rode, 1850-1851.

¹¹ AICP, *Thirteenth Annual Report*, 1856, 25; also, 26.

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Motives and Objectives

Ante-bellum Americans approached the poor in a spirit of Christian benevolence tempered by a fear of their threat to middle-class order and morality. As Christians they could not ignore the distress suffered by their fellow men and sought to shower them with material aid and love. On the other hand, as middle-class Americans they feared and despised the poor for their "immorality," "ignorance," and other moral faults. They were worried about the crime, disease, and intemperance closely associated with urban destitution. Was it possible that poverty was going to betray the American promise—that America, rich in resources and virtue, was destined only to duplicate the European experience? Indeed, "the deep recesses of wretchedness which [lay beneath] our metropolitan splendor like catacombs of living death and corruption" hung like an albatross around the eagle's neck.¹² Unless urban poverty were ameliorated, some predicted, both rich and poor would destroy each other in the violence of class warfare:

Let it [urban poverty] be neglected, and the present number of paupers and vagrants continue to multiply in the same ratio as at present, and the time may not be distant when the division of classes—the poor arrayed against the rich—may give us a revised edition of such scenes as have been once and again enacted in the streets of Paris.¹³

The AICP can be interpreted as an institutional embodiment of this Christian-middle-class impulse. This fact will become apparent after an examination of the principles which animated the organization during the first two decades of its existence.

On March 3, 1847, Hartley delivered an address to the visitors and advisory committees of the AICP. He told his audience:

¹² *Five Points Monthly Record*, March 1854, 1.

¹³ American Female Guardian Society and Home for the Friendless, *Twentieth Annual Report*, 1854, 9. Urban middle-class reformers frequently warned Americans that poverty was leading directly to the class division, vice, and corruption which characterized the European metropolis. See AICP, *Fifteenth Annual Report*, 1858, 32. The immigrant, especially, was blamed for the "deterioration" of American "social virtue." See "Report of the Select Committee Appointed to Examine into

Though many with whom we have to do, are ignorant, depraved, and possess but little that is congenial to our tastes and sympathies, yet because they are human beings like ourselves, and children of the same universal Father, they are our kindred. As such, therefore, we should regard them; we should admit the claims of relationship; we should love and care for them as brethren. Are we formed by the Divine hand, and objects of Divine interest? So are they. . . . And as there is not a moral truth bearing on our own present or future well-being in which they have not a common interest with ourselves, why should not such truth be pressed upon their attention in all suitable ways and times, that they may be benefited by it, as we have been?¹⁴

Hartley's words illuminate the contradictory motives which characterized the Association's anti-poverty crusade. On the one hand, the poor were "children of the same universal Father." Though often sinners, the poor were also immortal children of God. Those who possessed virtue or money were obligated to share their wealth with the destitute in a spirit of Christian benevolence and love. Christ, it was pointed out, had lived and died for poor as well as rich.¹⁵

Unfortunately for the poor, this Christian emphasis upon the dignity and brotherhood of man was compromised by the middle-class ethos which harshly condemned the poor for their imperfections. How was it possible to love as brothers those who were, by all standards of wealth, education, and virtues, so obviously inferior? The ideal of Christian love and charity can operate only upon the assumption of equality—the prosperous must love the poor because both are equal in sin; or the rich must love the poor because, all other considerations aside, both are truly equal in the sight of God. In reality, however, the middle-class "friends" of the poor assumed, a priori, their own monopoly of virtue. This tendency to regard the poor as somehow

the Condition of Tenant Houses in New York and Brooklyn," *New York State Assembly Document, No. 205*, March 9, 1857, p. 49.

¹⁴ Robert M. Hartley, "An Abstract of the Secretary's Remarks, at a Special Meeting of the Advisory Committees and Visitors of the AICP" (Pamphlet, 1847), 9.

¹⁵ Charles Loring Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York, and Twenty Years among Them* (New York: 1880), 372; cf. Joseph Tuckerman, *On the Elevation of the Poor* (Boston: 1874), 36.

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"inferior" did not encourage "the divine law of beneficence."

In accordance with the middle-class ethic, the individual rather than society was most often held responsible for poverty; poverty was interpreted as the result of individual moral faults rather than socio-economic injustice and exploitation. Poverty, then, could be ameliorated by a crusade for moral enlightenment. Since America offered the resources and opportunities for economic advancement it was the duty of reformers, above all, to help the poor to help themselves.

The AICP was, in fact, less a charitable agency than an instrument of moral uplift. According to Article II of its constitution: "Its design is the elevation of the moral and physical condition of the indigent; and so far as compatible with these objects, the relief of their necessities." The AICP was interested in the permanent improvement of the condition of the poor and this could best be achieved, it was believed, through the elevation of character.

In its annual reports, the Association continually lashed out against "indiscriminate" charity. "The first principle of this Association," Article I of the visitor's manual read, "is founded in the admission, that the alms of Benevolent Societies, and of private liberality, are often misapplied, and as often abused by those who receive them." The manual informed the visitors that:

You will become an important instrument of good to your suffering fellow creatures, when you aid them to obtain this good from resources within themselves. To effect this, show them the true origin of their sufferings, when these sufferings are the result of improvidence, extravagance, idleness, intemperance, or other moral causes which are within their own control; and endeavor, by all appropriate means, to awaken their self respect, to direct their exertions, and to strengthen their capacities for self support.

The most effectual encouragement for such persons is not *alms chiefly*, or any other form of charity as a substitute for alms, but that sympathizing counsel which re-ignites hope, and that expression of respect for character, which such individuals never fail to appreciate.¹⁰

¹⁰ AICP, *First Annual Report, 1845*, Visitor's Manual.

The AICP complained that “indiscriminate” charity, defined as charity proffered without due regard for its effect upon character, only softened the moral fiber of the poor and intensified the problem.

The AICP often pointed to indolence as a significant moral source of poverty. Middle-class Americans complained that the poor, and especially the immigrant poor, were frequently unwilling to perform the hard work necessary to make a living. In its eighth annual report the AICP observed:

So sadly has the character of the poor deteriorated of late years in this city, from the immense influx of foreigners, many of them being of the most thriftless, degraded class, with whom begging is a trade, nothing less thorough, it is believed, than the counteracting influence of such an Association as this could check the growth of pauperism, or prevent the community from being overrun by swarms of the idle and dissolute.¹⁷

Very often a distinction was made between the “worthy” and the “unworthy” poor or between “poverty” and “pauperism.” The worthy poor included those willing but unable to work because of sickness or other circumstantial misfortune, and also those who could not make ends meet no matter how much they sweated. The unworthy poor were comprised of those who preferred to live off begging and charitable largesse instead of work. Although this theoretical distinction between worthy and unworthy poor was made frequently, reformers also tended to regard all poverty with a certain contempt. The worthy poor discovered that no matter how hard they struggled, they were condemned as moral failures. In a pamphlet entitled *The Mistake*, the AICP discussed “the ready plea of many who ask aid,” that “‘we can find no work’”:

This may be so, but the plea would come with better grace from many females, after cleaning their own intolerably filthy tenements, and mending their own and children’s garments, that are hanging in tatters for want of timely repair. How can we believe you desire work, when you

¹⁷ AICP, *Eighth Annual Report*, 1851, 16.

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neglect that which thrusts itself on your notice every moment, and the commonest decency requires you to do?¹⁸

Improvvidence was condemned by the AICP as a second major source of poverty attributable to moral imperfections. The Association complained that too often the poor wasted what money they had on cheap liquor and other vices, or upon luxuries which they could ill afford. Furthermore, as a result of ignorance and lethargy, the poor allowed themselves to be swindled by the corner grocery-grog shop. They paid exorbitant prices for inferior-quality necessities. If the poor worked hard, and were economical in spending their income, there was no reason why they could not make ends meet. The AICP, to cope with the problem of improvidence, published and distributed thousands of copies of a tract entitled *The Economist*, which discussed the preparation of cheap and wholesome food.

The third and by far most important explanation of poverty in the eyes of the AICP and most urban middle-class reformers was intemperance. Nothing, as far as ante-bellum Americans were concerned, came close to intemperance as the villain of urban life.

We may consider *Intemperance* [the Rev. R. C. Waterson declared] as the most prolific source of degradation. By the common consent of all who have investigated this subject, or who labored to ameliorate the condition of the unfortunate, this is branded as the central source of want and wo.¹⁹

Joseph Tuckerman, Unitarian minister-at-large to the Boston poor, went so far as to say that "the great and peculiar curse of our land, indeed, is the facility with which ardent spirit can be obtained, even by the poorest among us."²⁰ Temperance zealots claimed that eighty percent and even ninety percent of urban crime and pauperism could be traced to alcohol.

Liquor was, allegedly, a fertile source of poverty in two respects. First, a laborer close to the subsistence level could not af-

¹⁸ AICP, *The Mistake* (Pamphlet, 1850), 2.

¹⁹ R. C. Waterson, *Address on Pauperism* (Boston: 1844), 23.

²⁰ Joseph Tuckerman, *op. cit.*, 104.

ford to buy alcohol. The money could be put to better use in supplying himself and his family with the necessities of life. Second, liquor, including wine, was said to have a pernicious influence upon health and morals. Gout, dysentery, and fatigue were among the inevitable results of intemperance, as were bad temper and reckless behavior. None of these consequences of drink, naturally, were conducive to hard and steady work.²¹

The AICP's concern with character led inevitably to what the Association referred to as "incidental labors." These incidental labors, many of which were later to be regarded as the most important element of social work, involved an examination of those environmental influences which were hostile to the attainment of good character. Thus, one finds the AICP concerned about the desecration of the Sabbath and the religious education of the juvenile poor, as well as the exposure of these juvenile poor to the immoral temptations of their unwholesome environment. Partly as a result of AICP pressure, the State legislature in 1853 passed a law providing for the arrest and detention of vagrant children. In 1851 the AICP had established its own juvenile asylum for young vagabonds.

The Association was active in the effort to improve the sanitary conditions of the poor. It established several medical dispensaries, reported on mortality rates in slum areas, and built a public bath house on Mott Street. The bath house, unfortunately, was forced to close after a few years for lack of clientele. In connection with health, the Association prodded the municipal authorities to create an efficient "sanitary police," or system of health inspection and regulation. But the most important of these "incidental labors," by far, was the effort to improve the conditions of the slums.

²¹ For a discussion of the causes of poverty see AICP, *Ninth Annual Report*, 1852, 25-28. To intemperance, indolence, and improvidence, the AICP very frequently added the "overstocked condition of the labor market," and the "continued influx of needy emigrants," as the most important sources of destitution. The latter two "non-moral" sources of poverty, however, were countered by the observation that unemployed workers and "needy emigrants" need only move West or out to the country to find work. Given America's opportunities there was absolutely no excuse for pauperism and little more for poverty. AICP, *The Mistake*, 4.

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Housing Reform

By the time the AICP was organized in 1843, the population pressures on Manhattan Island had created a serious housing shortage. The lower wards of the city had deteriorated into a series of shabby tenements, mostly filled with Irish and German immigrants and a scattering of Negroes and other foreign elements.

The majority of tenements consisted of two types. The first was composed of homes, originally occupied by prosperous families who had moved uptown, which the new owners or their agents had adapted for the use of three or more families. Partitions were set up which narrowed the size of rooms into "the smallest proportions capable of containing human life within four walls." An investigating committee of the New York State Assembly called these "primary reconstructions or adaptations," the "lowest of tenant houses."²²

A second common form of tenement was that especially built to house the poor. This consisted, usually, of a double building. A front edifice faced onto the street or a court. It had two suites of rooms on each floor and windows only in the front and back of the house. A rear building, accessible only through an alley, completed the structure.

Frequently, those who could not afford even the luxury of a tenement ended up in cellars, stables, or—worse—renovated ships and outhouses. In 1850, much to the dismay of reformers, some 29,000 persons were living five or six feet underground in dark, damp cellars. After an examination of the Fourth Ward, the AICP complained that:

The most objectionable habitations in this district are the cellars, in some instances, six feet underground—which have to be baled out after every rain storm—and are so damp as to destroy health—so dark as to prevent industry—and so low that ventilation is impossible. Though utterly unavailable for any other use, they are rented at rates which ought to pro-

²² "Report of the Select Committee Appointed to Examine into the Condition of Tenant Houses in New York and Brooklyn," *New York State Assembly Document*, No. 205, March 9, 1857, p. 20.

cure comfortable dwellings, to persons who have become as debased in character, as the condition is degrading in which they live.²³

Tenements would not have been so prevalent had they not been so profitable. It was common, as has been noted, for well-to-do families in the 1830s and 1840s to sell their homes on lower Manhattan or lease them to agents, and move uptown. The new owners or agents then charged Irish and German immigrants all that the traffic would bear. Subletting was an especially pernicious practice so far as the poor were concerned. The subletter or agent paid the owner a flat sum for the year and then collected for his own pocket as much as he could in rent. Tenements rented on a weekly or monthly basis. Landlords charged anywhere from \$3.00 to \$13.00 per month for an apartment, and \$.75 to \$1.25 per week for tiny single rooms.²⁴ In no uncertain terms the State investigating committee of 1857 condemned the tenement landlord for his exploitation of the poor:

Landlords should . . . be obliged by law to regard the well being of the community, if they have no consideration for the health or comfort of the wretched victims of their extortions and avarice.²⁵

The AICP from its start took an interest in the living conditions of the poor. It did not take long for the Association to discover that the squalor of the slums was a serious obstacle to the improvement of the condition, moral and physical, of the impoverished. It was difficult to inculcate the virtues of thrift, temperance, and hard work into those continually surrounded by drunkenness, crime, and disease. The AICP frequently investigated slum conditions and through its pamphlets and annual reports informed the public of what it found.²⁶ The Association did not hesitate to recommend remedies designed to abolish the slum, the most important of which included municipal legislation

²³ AICP, "First Report of a Committee on the Sanitary Condition of the Laboring Classes in the City of [sic] New York, with Remedial Suggestions" (Pamphlet, 1853), 9. Hereafter referred to as *Tenement Report*, 1853.

²⁴ Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (New York: 1949), 49-50.

²⁵ State Committee on Tenant Houses, *New York State Assembly Document*, No. 205, 31.

²⁶ AICP, *Annual Reports*, 1845, 1847, 1853, 1855, 1856.

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which would force the landlord to maintain certain sanitary standards, and second, the building of "model tenements."

Under the authority of "An Act to authorize the formation of Corporations for the erection of buildings," passed in 1853, the AICP itself sponsored a model tenement. The Association argued that it was possible to construct decent, low-cost housing for the poor at a reasonable profit. Its model tenement was built to prove this assertion. The tenement cost \$60,000 to erect. Rents varied from \$5.50 to \$8.50 a month which was expected to return six percent on the original investment. This "Workmen's Home," as it was called, contained eighty-seven suites of apartments, two stores and a large hall.²⁷ Although several of these model tenements were built in the ante-bellum years, they usually deteriorated into slums as their original purpose was forgotten. In the 1880s, ironically, a committee of the AICP, unaware of the origins of its own "big flat" extending as a "parallelogram from Mott to Elizabeth Street," condemned it as unfit for human habitation.²⁸ The AICP, however, never lost faith during its formative years that much of the initiative for the abolition of the slum would come from capitalists motivated by humanitarianism and enlightened self interest.

The slums cast a kind of hypnotic spell upon urban residents. Through their descriptions of slum life, one senses that Americans took a morbid fascination in gazing at the depths of filth and depravity to which human beings could sink. Early investigators of the slum seemed to thrill in their role of explorers of a new phenomenon under the American sun. It would be a mistake to think that Jacob Riis's generation was the first to "muckrake" the urban slum. As early as 1868 we can find "exposés" such as this:

²⁷ AICP, *Thirteenth Annual Report*, 1856, 45-46. For an extended account of this project and how it operated in practice, see Robert H. Bremner, "The Big Flat: History of a New York Tenement House," *The American Historical Review*, October 1958, 54-62.

²⁸ Community Service Society of New York, *Frontiers of Human Welfare: The Story of a Hundred Years of Service to the Community of New York* (New York: 1948), 22; AICP, *Forty-third Annual Report*, 1886, 44-52.

With a lantern and an officer, a visit to the cellars where the poor of New York sleep may be undertaken with safety. Fetid odors and pestiferous smells greet you as you descend. There bunks are built on the side of the room; beds filthier than can be imagined, and crowded with occupants. No regard is paid to age or sex. Men, women, and children are huddled together in one disgusting mass. Without a breath of air from without, these holes are hot-beds of pestilence. . . .

The lodgers in these filthy dens seem to be lost to all moral feeling, and to all sense of shame. They are not as decent as the brutes. Drunken men, debased women, young girls, helpless children, are packed together in a filthy, underground room, destitute of light or ventilation, reeking with filth, and surrounded with a poisoned atmosphere. The decencies of life are abandoned, and blasphemy and ribald talk fill the place.²⁹

As this indictment suggests, the slums were condemned for their pernicious influence upon health and morals. "Depressed and prostrated by the want of the stimulus given by nature," Dr. John Griscom claimed in his famous report on the sanitary condition of the workers of New York, slum dwellers "*instinctively* feel the want of a substitute."³⁰ The substitute for air was alcohol. The personal habits of slum residents combined with the lack of adequate water, sewerage, sanitation and bathroom facilities resulted in an odoriferous accumulation of filth which offended the senses and caused a "vast amount of sickness and high rate of mortality among the poor." The AICP, after investigation, reported the mortality rate of the tenement districts to be far out of proportion to their population.

If the slum adversely affected health, it was no less responsible for a deterioration of morals. "Physical evils produce moral evils," thundered the AICP. "Degrade men to the condition of brutes, and they will have brutal propensities and passions."³¹ Similarly, Griscom reported that "men's passions are held in check by the restrictions of the society in which they live." "Remove those checks," he added, "take from the individuals the moral atmosphere in which they move, and their evil passions

²⁹ Matthew Hale Smith, *Sunshine and Shadow in New York* (Hartford: 1868), 366.

³⁰ John H. Griscom, *The Sanitary Condition of the Laboring Population of New York* (New York: 1845), 49.

³¹ AICP, *Tenement Report*, 1853, 26.

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will rise.”³² Since it was impossible to “elevate character” without improving “physical condition,” it is understandable that the AICP became a leading advocate of tenement reform.

The most intolerable offenses against decency which characterized slum life included crime, intemperance, and sexual promiscuity. Middle-class investigators were shocked by the sight of so much drunkenness. Their sensibilities were even more inflamed by the spectacle of drunken women. What hope was there, they asked, for children who were raised in such an atmosphere? “The connection of juvenile depravity . . . with the wretched conditions of [slum] life,” was obvious. The depraved children of depraved parents, Americans feared, were indeed the “dangerous classes of New York.”³³

No single feature of slum life received such universal condemnation as the overcrowding. Here was a capital offense against middle-class standards of moral behavior. “The absence of all necessary accommodations in many dwellings, and the crowded state of the rooms, which defies all attempts at decency and modesty,” the AICP complained, “breaks down the barriers of self respect, and prepares the way for direct profligacy.”³⁴ In crowded tenements entire families often slept and dressed in the same room. Sometimes, strangers were taken in as lodgers to supplement the family income; they too would share the family bedroom. Samuel B. Halliday, missionary for the American Female Guardian Society, spoke on behalf of the “decent” citizenry of New York when he denounced:

the total want of moral feeling, the absence of all shame, and the seeming deprivation of the lowest attributes of humanity, which distinguish mankind from the brutes that perish, exhibited by the denizens of the filthy dens, in which the drunken man, the debased woman, the growing youth (precocious in vice), and the helpless babe, are all together indiscriminately huddled.³⁵

It is not difficult, then, to understand why the Protestant mid-

³² Griscom, *op. cit.*, 23.

³³ AICP, *Tenement Report*, 1853, 21.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

³⁵ Samuel B. Halliday, *The Little Street Sweeper; or, Life Among the Poor* (New York: 1861), 213.

dle-class reformer was repulsed by the slum. In the slum were concentrated and intensified all those features of poverty which the middle class found reprehensible—filth, crime, sexual promiscuity, drunkenness, ribaldry, disease and, needless to add, improvidence and indolence. The slum was surely a stain in the eyes of God and man. It defied all standards of order and virtue, as defined by the urban middle class of mid-nineteenth century America. The steady growth of poverty, pauperism, and slums was ominous in its eyes. Unless steps were taken, there was a “moral certainty,” warned the AICP, that the poor would “over-run the city as thieves and beggars—endanger public peace and the security of property and life—tax the community for their support, and entail upon it an inheritance of vice and pauperism.”³⁰ The slum was a severe strain indeed upon the “divine law of beneficence”; it was sometimes difficult, even for men of good will, to love those so intimately associated with the tenement jungle of filth and vice.

Significance and Evaluation

The significance of the activities of the AICP during the formative years does not entirely rest with their novelty or pioneer character. Both the Baltimore and New York Societies for the Prevention of Pauperism in the 1820s were city-wide agencies which emphasized, as did the AICP, the elevation of character as prerequisite to any permanent improvement in the condition of the poor. In 1835 a Society for the Prevention of Pauperism was also organized in Boston. Furthermore, the AICP's insistence upon the coördination of charitable agencies was anticipated in 1834 when an Association of Delegates from the Benevolent Societies of Boston was formed.

Few proposals of the AICP for the relief and amelioration of poverty were original. The emphasis upon the improvement of character, upon indolence, improvidence, and intemperance as basic causes of poverty were typical of the period. More impor-

³⁰ AICP, *Thirteenth Annual Report*, 1856, 24.

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tant, perhaps, as a claim to innovation were the "incidental labors." The AICP was among the earliest private welfare agencies to collect statistics upon sanitary conditions, slum life, and other features of poverty. The AICP, in this respect, served as an example to the professional social workers of the Progressive period. And although the AICP insisted that poverty was basically a moral problem, its concern with the relationship between poverty and the environment set another precedent for later social workers. Progressive reformers such as Robert Bruere, Edward T. Devine, and William H. Tolman were conscious of early efforts of the AICP to ameliorate poverty.³⁷

We may conclude that the significance of the AICP is two-fold. First, originating out of the shock of the Panic of 1837, the founding of the AICP is testimony to the anxiety which middle-class Americans felt over the increasing amount of urban destitution. It was true that "the poor always ye have with you." But did there have to be so many of them, in so degraded a moral and physical condition, and with such foreign ways? The immigrant pauper, the beggar, and the slum were becoming all-too-prominent features of the urban scene. Second, the purposes and methods of the AICP reveal clearly the tension which characterized the middle-class crusade against poverty. The founders of the Association were middle-class Christian gentlemen who believed that the poor deserved to be loved as brothers since the poor were, like themselves, the children of God. Unfortunately the habits and living conditions of the poor offended their middle-class standards of decency and order. The result was that they loved the poor less than they feared and even despised them. The object of these reformers was, in the final analysis, not so much to help the poor but rather to remold them into the middle-class image—to make the poor "respectable."

The AICP continued its efforts to ameliorate the condition of

³⁷ See Robert Bruere, "The Good Samaritan, Incorporated," *Harper's Magazine*, CXX (1909-1910), 833-38; William H. Tolman, "Half a Century of Improved Housing Effort," *Yale Review*, V (1896-1897), 288-302; Edward T. Devine, "Relief and Care of the Poor in Their Homes," *The Charities Review*, X (1900-1901), 183-90.

the poor after the Civil War as problems relating to urban poverty increased in magnitude. Housing continued to occupy the Association's attention and a special tenement house inspection department was created in 1878. The Association's burden was lightened considerably after 1882, when the Charity Organization Society was formed. Both groups retained their separate identities until 1939 when they merged to form what is now the Community Service Society of New York.

This Society and other social welfare agencies are striving now, as the AICP once did, to transmit the manners and mores of the "respectable" middle class to a sizable alien element of the population. Within the last decade the Puerto Rican community in New York has increased to nearly 600,000. As usual, this large foreign influx has resulted in considerable tension between the native population and the newcomers. New Yorkers complain of such diverse features of Puerto Rican life in the city as their frequently casual marriage relationship, their tendency to produce more children than they are able to support, their excessive reliance upon the funds of the city's welfare agencies, their loud speech, and their ignorance of basic health and sanitation standards. On the other hand, Puerto Ricans have accused New Yorkers of being cold, hostile, and aloof.

Despite such tensions, an almost inevitable result of large-scale and sudden contact between two peoples of disparate material and cultural backgrounds, there is a very significant difference in attitude between the founders of the AICP and contemporary social workers, if not most New Yorkers. Welfare work has become highly organized, professional, and "scientific" in its approach. There is today much less of the AICP's characteristic stress upon the individual and moral roots of individual and group maladjustment and far greater interest in the social and environmental factors involved. If this method proves successful in promoting greater understanding between Puerto Ricans and Gothamites and leads to a lessening of the tensions, we can acknowledge part of our debt to the "incidental labors" with which the AICP supplemented its moral crusade.

THE BOWERY HAD TWO SIDES

by FRANK WEITENKAMPF

Author of Manhattan Kaleidoscope and other works

NEW YORK'S Bowery in its more modern times has been pretty generally talked or written about, or pictured, in its sordid aspect, from the viewpoint of the old popular song with its refrain "The Bowery, the Bowery, I'll never go there any more." Around 1857, for instance, "Aguecheek" wrote in his *My Unknown Chum*: "Most Americans think that the Bowery and Five Points can rival almost anything in the world for displays of all that is disgusting in society." And in 1893, in *A*



CHATHAM SQUARE, LOWER END OF THE BOWERY

Litho. by A. Weingartner for Valentine's Manual, 1858

The New-York Historical Society



GERMAN WINTER GARDEN (VOLKSGARTEN), 45 BOWERY

Litho. by A. Weingartner after drawing by Fritz Meyer, c. 1860

The New-York Historical Society

Hazard of New Fortunes, W. D. Howells referred to “the gay ugliness—the shapeless, graceless, reckless picturesqueness of the Bowery.” And so it has gone on.

Well, if the Five Points had no redeeming feature in the 1850s, the Bowery did have it. It was not wholly or always of one character. It has had two aspects, at the same time, side by side.

A century ago, in Aguecheek’s day, when the picturesquely clad Bowery B’hoy—whom Thackeray encountered, by the way—was in his glory, there were respectable places on the street where a lady could be taken for cooling refreshment, and the famous Bowery Theatre furnished dramatic fare of a good kind. Somewhat later there was also the Stadt Theater, which catered to the German element in the city. In that playhouse, in 1859 and 1861, there were performances of Wagner’s *Tannhäuser*



THE BIBLE HOUSE; COOPER INSTITUTE; TOMPKINS MARKET

Litho. by Sarony, Major & Knapp for Valentine's Manual, 1861

The New-York Historical Society

under the direction of Carl Bergmann, conductor of the Philharmonic Society. And in 1874 the noted diva Pauline Lucca sang there in Gounod's opera *Faust*. As a further example of contrast, we have Cooper Union, which had been set up to lend its note of dignity to the north end, so different from the southern Chatham Street appendix, with its raucous barkers, "pullers-in," in front of clothiers' shops, yelling their "get—your—clothes inside, gety'relo'es inside."

Time went on, and the dual character of the Bowery continued. There are people today who may remember it as it appeared in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. It was the home of dime museums; there was an anatomical museum also. And there were places of bad repute, such as drinking halls with a "free show on the inside," as the barkers announced to passersby; worse haunts, too, and shops where fake auctions were held. But there were also reputable business houses, the Bowery

Frank Weitenkamp

Bank (still there), theaters, assembly halls for choral groups and other decent organizations. The merchants of good standing included a clothing firm, a jeweler, the wine-dealer Feser (at whose place one could drink real May wine in the Spring), and the produce house of Albro. And when Theodore Roosevelt was in high command in the city's Police Department, did he not join other officials of the force in lunching at a well-known Bowery restaurant?

Offerings at the theaters were varied enough. The old Bowery Theater, renamed the Thalia, became the place for German-language performances—Shakespeare, Schiller, more modern dramatists, and comic opera—all well done by a good stock company, frequently with visiting stars from abroad. At the Windsor you could choose between Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto* and melodrama by Theodore Kramer, then a prominent purveyor of such plays. If your taste ran to the Italian you could see Antonio Maiori's troupe in *Cavalleria Rusticana* (the play,



THE OLD GOTHAM INN, BOWERY (WEST SIDE) NORTH OF HOUSTON ST.

Litho. by Sarony, Major & Knapp for Valentine's Manual, 1862

The New-York Historical Society

The Bowery Had Two Sides

not the opera) in a converted store in 1903, or in *Hamlet* at Miner's Theatre in 1908. There was a Roumanian Opera House near Canal Street, next to the Atlantic Garden. The latter, with its lady orchestra, mammoth orchestrion and variety show, for years offered entertainment for the whole family to enjoy while sipping its beer. There must have been plenty of Germans in the audience there, as probably also at the Volksgarten. Indeed, an air of German middle-class respectability hovered over much of the Bowery.

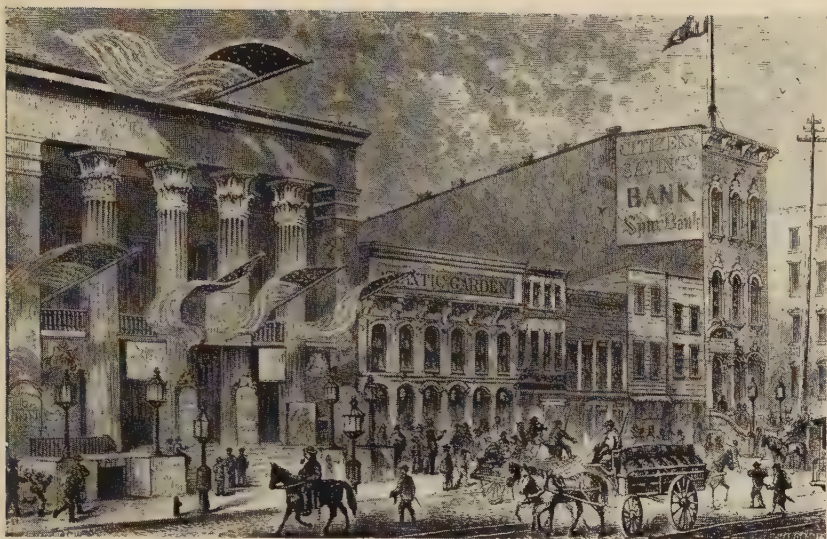
Other tastes were served in the field of entertainment. At the London Theatre there was burlesque, colloquially known as leg-show. If you edged off a little to the East at Grand Street, there was Yiddish vaudeville in 1903, while a bit to the West on the same street the Villa Napoli offered the Italian version of that form of entertainment. Silent movies of a dignified aspect were



SUNDAY "SOCIAL FREEDOM" IN THE BOWERY

Cartoon by V. Ratzler in *The Christian Weekly*, December 5, 1874

The New-York Historical Society



THE OLD BOWERY THEATER, 50-58 BOWERY, NEAR CANAL ST.

Woodcut by James A. Richardson after drawing by A. C. Warren

From *How to See New York* (1876), p. 74

shown at an Italian place in the Bowery, with variety show and quite fair solo singing thrown in, in 1915, at five and ten cents admission. And if you were an *aficionado* in the matter of puppet-shows, early in the twentieth century, just around the corner from the Bowery, first on Spring Street, later on Elizabeth, Italian marionettes, *burattini*, were soberly recounting the deeds of the paladins of Charlemagne.

Quite a mixture to choose from. The point is that you could make purchases where no *caveat emptor* was needed, enjoy clean entertainment of various grades, sing in choruses, even figure in a private school program, as did the present writer when a boy some eighty years ago.

So we see that there were indeed two sides to the character of the old street, much to offset the disreputable spots that dotted it. The Bowery, leading into the old Boston Post Road, has its rich history in this twofold existence, and an interesting iconography.



MRS. BELLA C. LANDAUER

COLLECTING AND RECOLLECTING

by BELLA C. LANDAUER

IT IS August 1923: The telephone rings, and I answer. A picture-framer in the West 50s who had often done work for me has a tale of woe to unfold. He tells of a young man, in desperate straits, who is forced to dispose of a portfolio full of odds and ends of graphic art. His need for cash is imperative; would I give him a hundred dollars? Just like that, it happened—so convince me if you can that there is no such thing as fate! I purchased his lot of bookplates (at that moment I did not even know what they were), small prints, etc., and for lack of other occupation on that hot summer night, began studying the purchase which was to introduce me to a fascinating hobby and many unforgettable friendships.

Interest in my newly acquired collection prompted me to secure additional ex-libris, and I eventually gravitated toward Fourth, Lexington, and Third Avenues where I began combing bookshops for new items. The first dealer who spread out the contents of his folders for me was astounded at my reiterated rejection of his plates because I had them all. He suddenly queried, "Where did you buy your plates?" As I described the circumstances under which my material was acquired, he interrupted excitedly: "That Gonif [thief]! he stole them all from me when he was employed here." So I must confess that my start in life as a collector came through acquiring stolen goods.

Gradually my acquaintance with dealers grew, and their co-operation was tremendously helpful to me in my new occupation. The beautiful set of Paul Revere bookplates I own was unearthed by Mr. Gottschalk, who was later succeeded by Harry Shaw Newman, proprietor of the Old Print Shop he has now placed on the map internationally.

Learning that William E. Baillie was an outstanding collector and authority on bookplates, I contacted him soon after my in-

troduction to bookplate-collecting, and was immediately invited to lunch with him and Mrs. Baillie at the Gramatan Inn. This happy meeting introduced a wonderful, long-lasting friendship into my life. Mr. Baillie initiated me into the fine points and nuances of collecting, and an entire scrapbook of his correspondence attests to his concern for my education. When I added trade cards to my interests, he wrote on May 24, 1924, these disturbed lines: "My congratulations on your purchase, every single plate was well worth a place in your collection; but alas, I am sore afraid you are hankering after strange gods and dissipating a real affection for bookplates." However, he became reconciled, for on April 20, 1925, he advised: "Dear Lady of the many distracting occupations—In your increasing quest of trade plates has it ever occurred to you that hotels are in trade and that the pictorial cards they issue, might be safely included in such a collection as you are making. One hundred years from now they should be interesting." From London, in August 1927, after I had become intrigued by an aviation collection, Mr. Baillie addressed me: "Dear Lady Lindbergh-Landauer of New York: So as not to disturb your sensibilities I have mailed only a sheet from one of our magazines, with a distinct Lindbergh flavor that may be new to you, but for goodness sake, don't give me fits, if you already have it."

J. M. Andreini, another eminent collector of bookplates, with a great spirit of camaraderie contributed vastly to my Eve and Sherborn ex-libris collection and later came frequently to note developments in my room at The New-York Historical Society.

I travelled abroad each summer, and on one of my trips to Paris, became a member of the "Vieux Papiers" Society. Here I met Paul Flobert, president of that organization, an intense and brilliant collector of ephemera. Through him, I secured my French wine label collection, containing so many rarities, which I handed over in 1926 to William Ivins, Jr., at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Mr. Ivins, an authority on prints, did not fancy bookplates, but appreciated the collection of French and English

trade cards I also donated. Later on, I added a Walt Disney collection and a scrapbook of Japanese match-box covers to the Metropolitan Museum's Print Room. Mr. Ivins had a great sense of humor. Returning from a Southern trip, where he visited some patriotic shrine, he recounted, "In the dining room there was a wine cooler," and then, with a twinkle in his eye, he exploded, "and you know, it was a bidet!"

Another scholar at the Metropolitan Museum of Art whose constant encouragement I gratefully acknowledge, was Henry W. Kent. It was he who selected me to lecture at the American Institute of Graphic Arts on "Tea for the Ladies: The Distaff Side of Ephemera."

I have found that with my collecting, I have had the added joy of collecting friends, and their correspondence fills many small and large scrapbooks. Some of my foreign friends were: Gunnar Horn, who discovered the body of the Swedish aeronautical explorer, S. A. Andrée, at the North Pole; Charles Dollfus, balloonist and curator of the Aeronautical Museum in Paris; Mme. Caproni, who has built up a famous aeronautical museum in Italy; and Maurice Dujardin, a serious student of "Vieux Papiers," who has issued many interesting pamphlets about historical ephemera.

After my Walt Whitman book was published in 1937, among the many letters I received was this tribute from Carolyn Wells Houghton: "I have just read your beautiful book about Whitman's 'Leaves of Music' (wonderful title) which our mutual friend, Mr. [Alfred] Goldsmith lent me. I have not had such a thrill since I first began to collect W.W."

In 1928, John Johnson, from his sanctuary of printing at the University Press, Oxford, began an animated correspondence on our mutual interests. Another Oxfordian who was most cooperative was Professor Falconer Madan, the eminent authority on "Alice in Wonderland." I tried to keep him posted on American interest in his "Alice." At his suggestion, I received an invitation to the centenary celebration at Columbia University and a



TICKET ENGRAVED BY PETER MAVERICK, C. 1816 (LANDAUER COLLECTION)

Dr. John Griscom, LL.D. (Sept. 27, 1774–Feb. 26, 1852) opened a private school for boys and girls at 372 Pearl Street, New York, in the spring of 1807. In December 1808 he moved into his new two-story brick school and lecture hall on Little Green Street. There he taught until about 1816 when he gave up active teaching because of ill health, although his school was continued by his assistants.

On May 13, 1816, he, as “Professor of Chemistry,” with the largest collection of scientific apparatus in the city, opened a series of lectures which continued for many years at the New York Institution where he shared quarters with The New-York Historical Society and others. In 1825 he founded a subscription High School, the first in the city, which continued, with D. H. Barnes as a partner until the latter’s death, until 1831.

Griscom was a prominent and distinguished educator and philanthropist, being one of the founders of the Bank for Savings, the House of Refuge, and the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism of this city.

This ticket was for one of the series of subscription lectures held in the New York Institution in 1816–1817 and was issued to Richard Wood who, in 1846–47 was, with his brother George S. Wood, a printer and publisher at 261 Pearl Street. They were the publishers of *The Medico-Chirurgical Review*. Their trade card is reproduced on the page opposite.

visit from “Alice” herself (then Mrs. Hargreaves), but unfortunately I was out when she called on me.

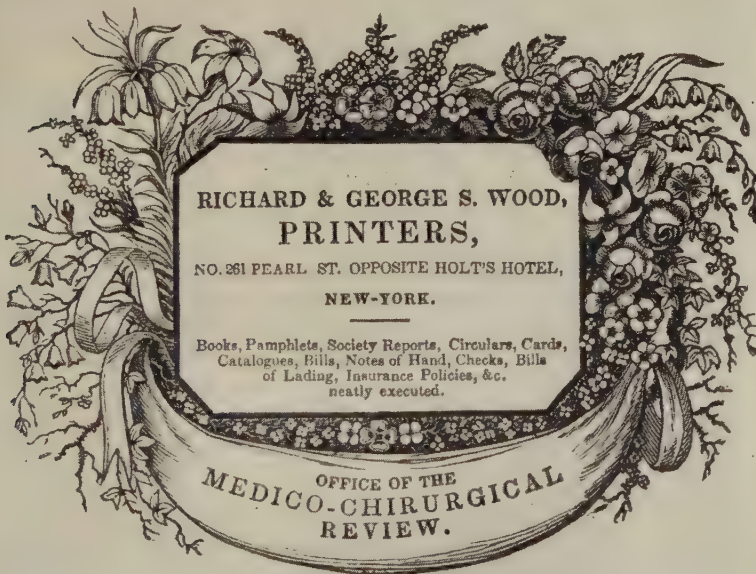
In 1931 I met Winward Prescott, Professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose teasing was delightful.

Bella C. Landauer

Knowing that names and addresses have always escaped me, he once wrote:

You seem slightly at sea in regard to my address. Surely you can remember the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, or the Mass. Inst. of Technology, or even M.I.T., all at Cambridge, Mass. I personally do not object to your sending my letters to Harvard or to Goodspeed, or even to Pres. Hoover, except that it makes work for those kind forwarders.

Another special friend was Frederick Starr, highly esteemed Professor of the University of Chicago, who conducted his researches in Cuba, Mexico, Africa, and the Orient. His devotion to Fujiyama was so intense that the southeastern slope of that mountain was chosen as his final resting place. Early one Sunday morning he phoned me from New Jersey and said, "May I come over and spend the day? Here I am surrounded by so much religion and I do not feel like attending services twice a day." That was our last meeting.



TRADE CARD, c. 1846 (BELLA C. LANDAUER COLLECTION)

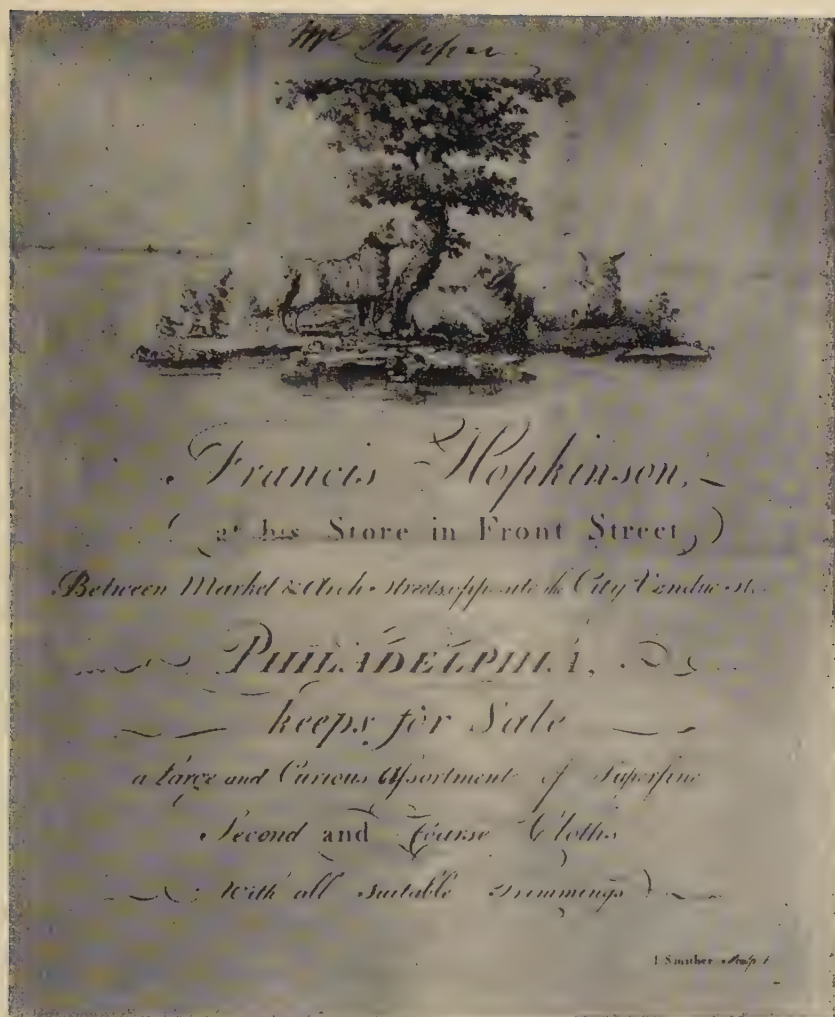
Collecting and Recollecting

One of my great favorites was Ruth Granniss, beloved Librarian of the Grolier Club. We lunched together frequently. One day, shortly after returning from London, I said to her: "You know, I reached Caledonia Market an hour before opening, but luckily a dealer with his pushcart laden with books made the same mistake. This gave me leisure to study his wares and an opportunity to buy many volumes. Do you want to see my haul?" That is how a rare Rowlandson book landed in her library.

There are many incidents in the course of bookplate-collecting which I recall with pleasure and amazement. Years ago, when the Anderson Gallery was situated at 59th Street and Park Avenue, one of their auction catalogues announced the sale of Francis Hopkinson's trade card. There were not many Signers of the Declaration who were thus distinguished, and Hopkinson had written on the reverse of his card the date, "Sept 24th 1769," the name of the dealer, "Edw^d Shippen Esq," a list of items ordered, amounting to £4:11:11, and a notation, "Rec^d the contents, Fras. Hopkinson." This autograph naturally enhanced the value of the item. The sale was scheduled to take place in the evening and, thinking I could not attend it, I left a bid of twenty-five dollars with Charles Retz. As the evening hour approached, I decided to visit and watch the sale. That was a lucky inspiration! In due time, the trade card was presented on the auctioneer's platform, my measly little offer was discarded, and I plunged in with a final knock-down figure of a hundred and fifty dollars! Little did I realize that Dr. Rosenbach was my opponent, nor did he know I was a contestant. He later regretted that he had bid so high, and ever after treated me most generously in my dealings with him.

In collecting one encounters bad and good luck. Sauntering down Fourth Avenue one day, I picked up a commonplace bookplate pasted in the cover of an old book. Arriving home, I soaked off the plate, and was flabbergasted to find that it covered a perfect Dawkins plate made for Samuel Loudon, which Mr. Baillie later judged to be unknown.

Occasionally, too, some discouraging incident cropped up: A



TRADE CARD OF FRANCIS HOPKINSON, PHILADELPHIA

Engraved by James Smither, c. 1796

The Bella C. Landauer Collection (NYHS)

lady librarian in a famous college, sensing my inexperience, sold me a fake George Washington plate. She could not plead ignorance, for Mr. Baillie had previously advised her of its spuriousness. Novice that I was, I had to pay for my experience, but gradually I learned to be cautious.

Collecting and Recollecting

Naturally, I also ordered personal bookplates to add to my collection. These include: (1) a modern woodcut, introducing my motto "Lend a Hand," executed by Sidney Hunt of London; (2) a plate featuring two printers' marks and the seal of The New-York Historical Society, by William Phillips Barrett of London; (3) an etching by George Broel, of Munich, of a willow tree fringed with Spanish moss that intrigued me when I was in Pass Christian, Miss.; (4) an engraving by A. N. MacDonald of the library mantelpiece in my home; (5) an engraving by S. L. Smith of a garland decorating an old-style letter "L" chosen by Mr. Baillie and me after a lengthy debate; and (6) an aeronautical plate done in silhouette by a foreign artist.

Some fireworks shoot off rockets in all directions; perhaps I can be classified in that category. Soon after I had assembled a large and valuable collection of American and European bookplates, I extended my interest to trade cards. When I started this collection, everyone scoffed at the idea. One man even remarked, "I hear you are only collecting from scrapbaskets." And a lady, who prides herself on her culture, said, "It's the silliest idea I ever heard of." Notwithstanding these deprecating remarks, I persevered. Charles Tuttle, well-known book-dealer of Rutland, Vt., was one of the first to spur me on my quest. Fred Kelly of Woodstock was the only scout I ever employed. He had many clients for the books he bought and sold, and the material I sought he could secure for nothing; so we made a curious arrangement: he would invest in books the cash I advanced him, usually one hundred dollars at a time, and all the ephemera that came his way he turned over to me. Whenever the original outlay was exhausted, I mailed him another check. This system was pursued until his death several years ago.

As I sorted my trade cards, I always kept a hatbox on either side for discarded duplicates. One box would be sent to Dr. Arthur Cole at the Harvard Business School and the other would go to the Print Department of the Metropolitan Museum.

Somehow I also became involved in aeronautical history and formed a large collection of medals, china, music sheets, prints,



CORNER VIEW OF THE BELLA C. LANDAUER COLLECTION, 1947

books for children, almanacs, labels, and textiles, all bearing on this subject. Having moved from a house to a hotel, I had to dispose of this voluminous material, but could not decide where to place it. The minute I met Lester D. Gardner in 1941, my problem was solved, for he persuaded me to place the entire collection in the Institute of Aeronautical Science. Major Gardner was a remarkably able man and a perfect friend, so I thought the collection had found an ideal home. Alas and alack, after his resignation from the Institute, interest in the cultural history of aviation collapsed completely. This has been a sore disappointment to me, and Major Gardner has often lamented, "I let you down," which of course was not so. When he retired, I tried to induce him to write a detailed history of aeronautics, but he claimed that he would have to divulge too many confidences and betray too many friends by revealing inside stories. His silence was the price of his integrity.

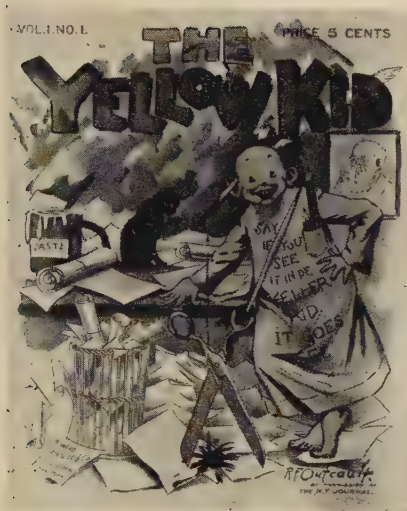
My Walt Whitman music was given to the Music Department

Collecting and Recollecting

of the New York Public Library, where I had previously deposited a collection of European frontispieces. These I had gathered chiefly in Rome and Paris and I have never recovered from the shock of finding so many mutilated books.

Another hobby of mine was to collect letters and international playbills of my favorite American dramatist, Eugene O'Neill. One of the rarities in this group is a program of "All God's Children Got Wings" as it was presented during a midnight performance in Berlin on New Year's Eve. The Nazi racial laws are printed on the reverse side of this "Teaterzettel." My entire collection included five scrapbooks of play programs; 68 letters, over half of these in O'Neill's hand; 24 first editions of his plays; rare photographs; and other pertinent material. Harold Rugg, a good friend from Baker Library at Hanover, N.H., was enthusiastic about accepting this accession in 1951, and it continues to be appreciated by Messrs. Edward Lathem and McCorison, as well as by Professor Herbert West, Secretary of the Friends of Dartmouth College. My collection of Kipling music is also at Dartmouth.

Having given a sketch as to where some of my "children," as I call them, are housed, I now come to my pride and joy, the collections at The New-York Historical Society. There, in the unfortunately inadequate space allotted to me on the third floor of the museum, I try to display a vast lot of material on an abundant variety of subjects. Among my collections are: bookplates; trade cards; commercial fans and paperweights; menus; Valentines; club membership booklets, invitations, and announcements of social events; a good telegram collection; lottery tickets and literature; railroad passes; tobacco items (Mr. Burdick generously offered me his collection to add to mine, but on account of great duplication, I suggested he give it to the Metropolitan Museum where A. Hyatt Mayor was delighted to accept it.); posters; war ephemera and letters; embossed cards and paper; calendar plates; material relating to various professions, such as medicine, the theater, etc.; business catalogues; and a vast assort-



OUTCAULT'S "THE YELLOW KID"
VOL. I, NO. I, 1897

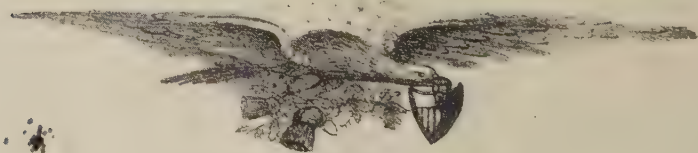
*The Bella C. Landauer
Collection (NYHS)*

ment of illustrated music sheets, including popular music, drinking songs, music relating to journalism, fashion, politics, the Presidents, and music about New York City, the Hudson River, and New York Harbor. To this day the early American "funnies" appeal to all visitors who come to see the group of material I have amassed on Palmer Cox and his "Brownies" and on R. F. Outcault's popular "Yellow Kid," as well as trade cards, prints, magazines and music sheets using the work of these artists.

The late Alexander J. Wall, then Director, was originally

responsible for my joining the Society in 1926; but he was at a loss where to place me and my collection of bookplates and trade cards, for there was no room available except in an unused kitchen under the eaves of the old building at 170 Central Park West. There I struggled for many years, while guards patiently carried up buckets of hot water, which is essential to my work in soaking off plates or washing prints. There was no telephone in my scant quarters and, except for two exhibitions in the Society's galleries in the spring of 1929 and summer of 1930, no visitor ever examined my collection or saw my pathetic domain. Still, I persevered in enlarging and arranging my treasures and finally emerged to public view when the building sprouted wings in 1939. Since then, countless people have used the resources gathered in my room and many kind friends have contributed to its improvement. Unfortunately, some of my early visitors are now dead: Harrison Elliott, expert on the history of paper, who

WE'LL SING OF PATRIOTS GONE.



SERGEANT ANDREW WALLACE.

Aged 105 years.

A Veteran of the Revolution, the rescuer of Lafayette at the Battle of Brandywine

This extraordinary Man still retains the full power of memory and sound sense and is a living Chronicle of the days of "Auld lang syne".

He was born at Inverness (Scotland) in the year of our Lord 1730, & left his country for America in 1752. — At the commencement of the Revolution, he enlisted in the Service of the U. S. in which he continued with little interruption for nearly 30 years — He assisted at the most remarkable Battles during the War, escaped the Massacre of Paoli and in the Battle of Brandywine when Lafayette was wounded rescued him from his perilous situation and bore him on his back about 2 miles to the house of a friend.

SHEET MUSIC COVER, c. 1835

The Bella C. Landauer Collection (NYHS)

came regularly to watch developments; Frank Jackson, who brought many gifts; Rodman Gilder, a constant donor. On Sunday afternoons I often feel as if their presence still hovers over my room.

To my deep regret, I have no understudy, but I am most grateful for the remarkable assistance of Arthur B. Carlson, the efficient Curator of the Society's Map and Print Room, as well as for the continued interest of other members of the staff. Dr. R. W. G. Vail, Director, is always available for consultation. Charles E. Baker, Editor, is generous with editorial advice. Dr. James J. Heslin, Associate Director and Librarian, and the heads of all other departments cooperate heartily with me, and I deeply appreciate their continued kindness.

Not all the time I devote to my fascinating pursuit is spent on curatorial functions; I have also published several booklets and articles on specific subjects represented in my collections. The following list indicates some of the many angles of my ephemera:

Printers' Mottoes; A Collection of Sentiments taken from the Titlepages and Colophons of Books Issued by Printers and Publishers, Booksellers, Artists and Patrons from the 15th Century to the Present. New York: Privately printed [by Douglas C. McMurtrie], 1926.

Upward not Downward (Christmas pamphlet, 1926).

Early American Trade Cards from the Collection of Bella C. Landauer, with Critical Notes by Adele Jenny. New York: W. E. Rudge, 1927.

Some Early American Lottery Items. New York: Privately printed at Harbor Press, 1928.

Bookplates from the Aeronautical Collection of Bella C. Landauer. . . . New York: Privately printed at Harbor Press, 1930.

"Chalking the Hat," etc., from the [Railroad] Collection of Bella C. Landauer. New York: Privately printed at Harbor Press, 1930.

Some Early Vermont Invitations from the Collections of Bella C. Landauer. New York: Privately printed at Harbor Press, 1930.

Some Alcoholic Americana. . . . New York: Privately printed at Harbor Press, 1932.

Some Aeronautical Music. . . . Paris: Privately printed, 1933.

"Some Trade Cards with Particular Emphasis on the Currier and Ives Contributions," in *NYHS Quarterly*, January 1934, pp. 79-93.

Collecting and Recollecting

- "Jumbo's Influence on Advertising or Some *Jumbo* Trade-Cards," in *NYHS Quarterly*, October 1934, pp. 45-52.
- Some Ephemeral Portraits of Lincoln and Franklin from the Collections of Bella C. Landauer*. New York: Privately printed at Harbor Press, 1935.
- Some Japanese Balloon Prints*. . . . [New York:] The author, 1935.
- Gilbert and Sullivan Influence on American Trade Cards*. . . . New York: Privately printed, 1936.
- Leaves of Music by Walt Whitman*. . . . [New York:] Privately printed [at Harbor Press,] 1937.
- When Advertisers Discovered Shakespeare* (Christmas pamphlet, 1937).
- Rosemary and Holly* (Christmas pamphlet, 1939).
- Some Terpsichorean Tradecards*. . . . New York: 1940.
- Some Tradecards from the Landauer Aeronautical Collection*. New York: 1940.
- Some "Up in a Balloon" Songs from the Collection of Bella C. Landauer*. New York: 1940.
- The Indian Does Not Vanish in American Advertising*. New York: 1940.
- Philatelic Influence Stamps American Advertising*. New York: 1941.
- Soda Water in the 19th Century*. New York: 1941.
- Some Embossed American Tradecards*. New York: Privately printed at Harbor Press, 1941.
- Trivial Washingtoniana*. . . . New York: Privately printed at Harbor Press, 1941.
- Pre-frigidaire Ice Ephemera*. . . . New York: 1943.
- "'Yankee Bird,'" in *NYHS Quarterly*, October 1944, pp. 129-33.
- "Literary Allusions in American Advertising as Sources of Social History," in *NYHS Quarterly*, July 1947, pp. 148-59.
- Some American Billheads from the Collection of Bella C. Landauer*. . . . New York: Privately printed, 1949.
- My City, 'Tis of Thee; New York City on Sheet-Music Covers*. New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1951.
- Striking the Right Note in Advertising; Selections from the Music Collection of Bella C. Landauer*. . . . New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1951.
- "Some American Funeral Ephemera," in *NYHS Quarterly*, April 1952, pp. 221-30.

Some Terpsichorean Ephemera. . . . New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1953.

Business, the New Maecenas. New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1956.

Trivia has always fascinated me. My collection continues to branch out almost spontaneously into many fields of interest, all equally fascinating, forming a vivid picture of the business and professional history of America.

*Little drops of water, little grains of sand
Make the mighty ocean and the pleasant land.*

Rodman Gilder once wrote me, "You remember the old story about the Park Commission member who after a discussion about the purchase of a fleet of gondolas, suggested 'Why do you not buy a pair of gondolas, put them in the Park lake and let 'em breed.' I enclose a pair of corn-cob pipe trademarks to start your collection"—so starting me off on a new tangent. I have also amassed labels from spool-cotton bobbins, dry goods, etc., and collections of circus tickets, heretofore neglected, and book-seller's labels, another insignificant item in American social history. My collection of watch labels, though small, includes some gems acquired through the generosity of Charles Tuttle. Hundreds of cigar bands are grouped according to classifications such as "royalty," "war heroes," "Presidents," "theatrical personages," etc., some on paper and others printed on silk. I am still hoarding an unassorted lot, which awaits young eyes to scan and arrange.

The goodwill of dealers, who seemed to take personal pride in finding treasures to add to my collection, has been of great aid and I am duly grateful for their assistance. I still marvel that the ephemera which for so many years had been spurned now has finally become important and desirable. This little quotation appropriately sums up that recent change in attitude:

*Last autumn's chestnuts, rather passées,
Are now presented as marrons glacées.*



1877 SELDEN'S PATENT MODEL



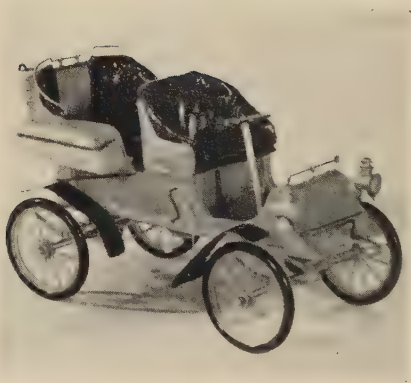
1893 DURYEA "BUGGYAUT"



1900 PACKARD



1902 FRANKLIN



1903 MODEL A FORD



1903 RAMBLER (NASH)

ANTIQUE CAR RALLY

AN EXHIBITION OF MINIATURE AUTOMOBILE MODELS

by SUSAN McMAHON

A COLLECTION of twenty-eight miniature antique autos, the fruit of years of study and careful work by the donor, came recently to the Society where it now makes a vivid display of typical car-bodies long, long before the day of tail fins.

Including a model of "the World's First Real Automobile," the collection of tiny cars covers the period from 1877 to 1914. They were made with great care and patience by Mr. Jack Sturman, a New York City postal employee whose long-time hobby has been to illustrate the evolution of automobile design from the crude horseless buggy of the industry's pioneer days to the sleek and highly powered vehicle that is Detroit's pride today. Exact replicas, the autos are of balsa wood, wire, and leather and range in size from four to seven inches in length, averaging about three inches in height. From sports cars to delivery trucks, all are gaily painted bright reds, greens, blues, and yellows—the daily delight of visitors to our museum, including the multitude of school children who might otherwise never know what the tiny "Tin-Lizzie," the Stutz Bearcat, or the Maxwell immortalized by Jack Benny actually looked like.

A Frenchman of the mid-18th century, Nicholas Cugnot, is generally credited with building the first self-propelled vehicle. His pioneer three-wheeled steamer, capable of doing a racy two and a half miles per hour in 1770, was impractical because it had to stop every hundred feet or so to build up steam. Not until the late 19th century was the motor car developed as a practical means of transportation. That task was performed by many men, working on various aspects of the problem in divers countries.

A model of the first internal combustion motor automobile, dating from 1877 and invented by George B. Selden of Roches-

Antique Car Rally

ter, New York, highlights the collection. Although his patent model was unsuccessful, Mr. Selden and his associates, The Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers formed in 1903, collected royalties on all autos manufactured in the United States until they were defeated in a 1911 lawsuit by Henry Ford.

The "Buggyaut," an 1893 Duryea, considered the first successful auto, is also represented in the collection. Bearing the name of one of America's pioneer auto manufacturers, this car, patented in 1895, was listed as "the World's First Real Automobile." This ambitious billing interested P. T. Barnum, king of early American showmen, who booked the 1896 model for the season, including it in his popular circus street parades and even in the three-ring show!

It was the task of auto manufacturers of the early 20th century to produce a relatively inexpensive, efficient, and reliable machine—to raise the status of the auto from side-show attraction to its present role as an essential part of American family life. This was the work of such pioneers as Olds, Haynes, Winton, King, Maxwell, Duryea, Apperson, Stanley, Franklin, and Ford.

The first autos were little more than buggies equipped with motors. They were not fitted with a top, windshield, horn, or a searchlight; and garages were non-existent. They were steered variously by a bar, a tiller, or a wheel, and powered by steam, electricity, or gasoline engines, which had anywhere from one to sixteen cylinders. All servicing was done by blacksmiths or in buggy shops, and it was often necessary to borrow parts from one auto to equip another. Breakdowns were frequent and road conditions poor. An adventuresome spirit and a sound mechanical knowledge were as necessary in the early days of the horseless carriage as a driver's license is today.

The majority of these early cars were known as "one lungers" and cranked from the side, having a one-cylinder gasoline motor placed beneath the driver's seat. These were first displayed to the public en masse at Madison Square Garden in 1900 at the first automobile show, where seventeen manufacturers unveiled



1903 STUDEBAKER ELECTRIC



1903 STEVENS-DURYEA



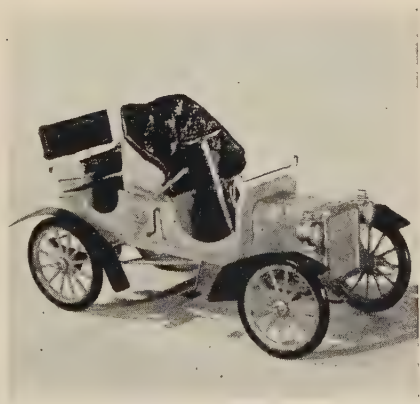
1903 CADILLAC



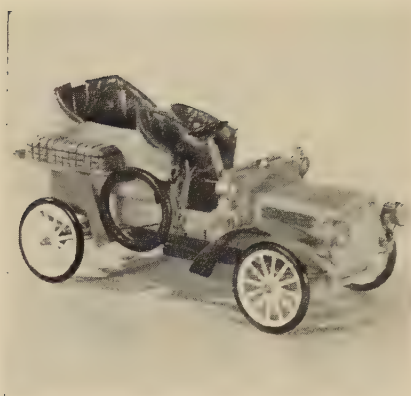
1904 CADILLAC RUNABOUT



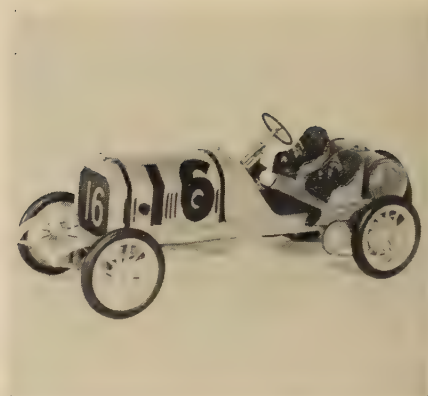
1904 OLDSMOBILE



1905 REO RUNABOUT



1905 WHITE STEAMER



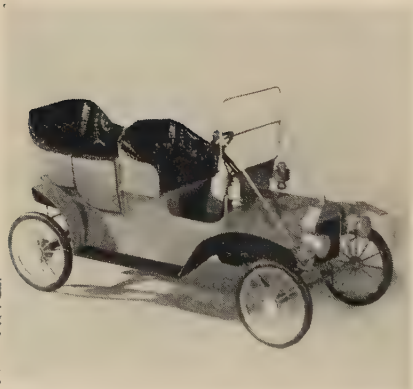
1906 LOCOMOBILE "OLD 16"



1906 COLUMBIA ELECTRIC



1908 BAKER ELECTRIC



1909 MODEL T FORD



1909 EMF (STUDEBAKER)



1910 MODEL T FORD ROADSTER



1910 INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER



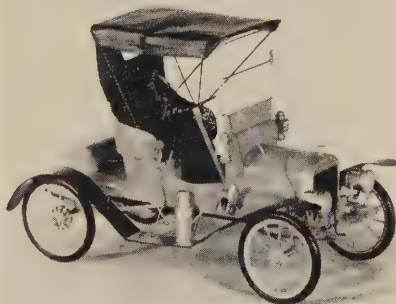
1909 STANLEY STEAMER



1909 HUPMOBILE ROADSTER



1911 BRUSH DELIVERY TRUCK



1911 MAXWELL (PLYMOUTH)

Antique Car Rally

their wares. By 1904, more than 150 manufacturers were represented in the show, which had become an annual affair.

In 1901 the total number of cars in use in the United States was about 5,000 while in 1904 there were ten times that number. (In contrast, 5,982,342 cars were registered in the United States in 1957, according to the latest figures from the Automobile Manufacturers Association.) Up until 1905 all automobiles were open, but in that year sedans or closed cars put in their first appearance. Prices for early autos ranged from \$12,500 for a 1909 Falcon 90 touring car down to \$175 for a tiny "Browniekar" of the same year. The popular Model T Ford or "Tin-Lizzie" for that year brought \$850.

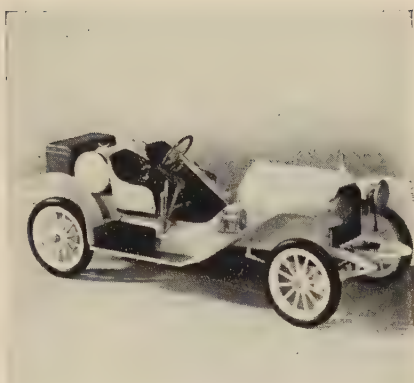
Electrics were popular as ladies' cars: no crank, no grease, no fumes. They were advertised as fashionable cars: "Stately, Stylish Electric Stanhope . . . is the aristocrat of motors." An advertisement for a 1903 electric asserts that ". . . an express wagon ought to be operated and its batteries kept in proper condition at an outside cost of not over \$250 a year—less than the board of a horse for the same period."

Sports and racing cars were as popular in the infancy of the auto industry as they are today. The first race in America was held in 1895, and only fourteen years later the Indianapolis Speedway was built. Mr. Sturman's model of "Old 16," a 1906 Locomobile, which won the historic 1908 Vanderbilt Cup Race, is also included in the collection. This 90-horsepower machine, driven by George Robertson at an average 64.3 miles per hour over a 258-mile course in bad weather, became the first American auto successfully to challenge the road-racing supremacy of its more expensive European competitors. The Vanderbilt race was considered so important that top automotive officials, like Walter C. White in the 1905 Vanderbilt, were often their own race drivers. The year before that Henry Ford had driven his famous racer "999" in a dual race with a Mr. Harkness.*

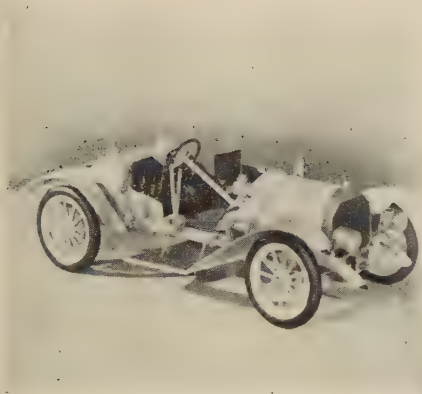
* For further reading see: *Encyclopedia Americana* (New York: The Americana Company, 1903); *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1942); *Automobile Facts and Figures 1958* (Automobile Manufacturers



1911 BUICK BUG



1913 MERCER RACEABOUT



1914 STUTZ BEARCAT



1914 REGAL COLONIAL COUPE

The handsome collection represents the progress of an America on wheels from the days of "Get a horse!" to 1914, when the auto was found in many garages. Now on exhibition at the Society, these handsome models represent an important facet of our American heritage.

Association, Detroit); *Motor's 1909 Motor Car Directory* (New York: National Magazine of Motoring, 1909); David L. Cohn, *Combustion on Wheels* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944); Floyd Clymer, *Early American Automobiles* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950); Floyd Clymer, *Henry's Wonderful Model T* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955); *A Chronicle of the Automotive Industry in America* (Cleveland: Eaton Manufacturing Co., 1936).



HONORARY PRESIDENT FENWICK BEEKMAN WITH JOHN C. JOHANSEN, N.A.A.,
WHOSE PORTRAIT OF PRESIDENT KIMBALL (BEHIND THEM)
HAD JUST BEEN UNVEILED

PRESIDENT KIMBALL'S PORTRAIT UNVEILED

FOLLOWING a meeting of the Board of Trustees on April 22, 1959, a reception was held in honor of Dr. LeRoy E. Kimball, twenty-fourth President of the Society, for the unveiling of an official portrait of him commissioned for the Society. Unfortunately, and to the keen regret of all, Dr. Kimball was prevented by illness from attending.

The Board Room having been rearranged, forty-six invited guests were ushered in. They included members of the Board of Trustees and their wives and a few intimate friends of Dr. and Mrs. Kimball.

After the ladies had been seated, Honorary President Fenwick Beekman, as Chairman of the occasion, delivered the following remarks:

"Members of the Board of Trustees, Ladies and Gentlemen:

"This is an informal gathering to honor our President at the time of the unveiling of his portrait which is to be hung in the Halls of the Society for posterity.

"In the past, during one hundred and fifty odd years, there have been twenty-three presidents and of these there are oil paintings, if I am not mistaken, of all but two—an outstanding collection. To these we now add a fine painting of President Kimball by the distinguished artist John C. Johansen, N.A., whose portraits of important personages are known to many of us.

"LeRoy Elwood Kimball, President of The New-York Historical Society, was elected to office in January 1956 and is now serving his second term. He is admired by all those associated with him because of his stalwart personality and cultural attainments. Previous to election to the Presidency, Dr. Kimball had served on the Board of Trustees and in the office of Vice-President. As President he has contributed much to the reorganization of our fine library and other departments.

President Kimball's Portrait

"In ending I wish to express my pleasure in being honored by representing the Board of Trustees in making the presentation at the unveiling of this work of art. I therefore order that the portrait of President LeRoy Elwood Kimball be exposed to public view and be placed among the portraits of his predecessors in office."

Following Dr. Beekman's remarks, the portrait was unveiled by Dr. James J. Heslin, Associate Director of the Society.

Mrs. Kimball brought from her husband's hospital room his sincere thanks and best wishes to his assembled Board and other friends. He also asked her to express what inspiration and help he had received during the nine years as Vice-President under a man such as Dr. Fenwick Beekman.

She then introduced the artist, John C. Johansen, Esq., N.A., who responded briefly.

Refreshments were served and Mrs. Thomas W. Streeter, wife of the Treasurer of the Society, and Mrs. Paul Sturtevant, a very close friend of Dr. and Mrs. Kimball, poured.



MRS. PAUL STURTEVANT AND MRS. THOMAS W. STREETER
POURING AT THE RECEPTION IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT KIMBALL

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen 1780-1783.
Translated and edited with an introduction by EVELYN M. ACOMB.
(Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute
of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia,
1958. xxxvi + 392 pages, illus., biographical directory, biblio., index.
\$7.50.)

*Reviewed by FORSYTH WICKES, authority on the history of Franco-American
relations, particularly during the Revolution.*

When the government of Louis XVI assembled an expeditionary force at Brest under the command of Rochambeau to aid the American Colonies in their fight for independence, one of the regiments of infantry was that known as the Royal Deux Ponts. It had been recruited exclusively from German princely estates ruined during the Thirty Years' War. There is an expression dating from that period: "Whose house doth burn must soldier turn," for where lands were devastated the peasant class could be supported only by men turning mercenaries. There was in the Deux Ponts Regiment a Bavarian captain of good family and excellent education, the Baron Ludwig von Closen, whose interesting observations of 18th-century military and civilian life in America are now made available for us in translation.

The Rochambeau expedition sailed from Brest on May 2, 1780, and landed at Newport on Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island, on the 11th of July, 1780, eventually joining Washington's army. The joint forces marched to the vicinity of Yorktown and, with the support of the French fleets under De Grasse and De Barris, drove off the combined English fleets of Graves and Hood and cornered Cornwallis in Yorktown, forcing his surrender on October 19, 1781. After defeating Cornwallis, the Franco-American army went into winter quarters in Virginia, from November 1781 to June 1782. In July 1782 the army marched from winter quarters to Peekskill on the Hudson, where the French army encamped; the American army proceeded to Newburgh on the west side of the Hudson to establish its headquarters there. The route followed in this march was substantially the same as that adopted on the march to Yorktown.

History, the most interesting and instructive branch of literature, is usually produced by writers long after the occurrences described have taken place, from a study of contemporary letters, records, documents, and memoirs. This is as it must be, but such retrospective histories lack the freshness and intimacy of the accounts of those who participated personally in historical events. A letter or diary written by an eyewitness of one of the world's great battles has an atmosphere of reality that seems

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to project the reader into the actual time and place described. The Baron von Closen's journal offers such an intimate glimpse into the events of the period 1780-1783.

The Baron's diary describes with much minuteness his experiences during the four years he served with the Rochambeau expedition, not only as a company commander but also as Rochambeau's aide-de-camp, a capacity in which he served on many occasions. His is a factual record, and he rarely indulges in effusions of sentiment. He seems to have been extremely friendly towards the inhabitants of the American countryside and he particularly admired the women, whom he found most hospitable, entertaining generously with dinners and balls—especially the women of Baltimore. He thought highly of the American soldiers of the regular army, and was much impressed by their discipline and courage. Their system of drill, he observed, was North German, as was natural, since the Baron von Steuben was their drill master. Washington he regarded almost with awe, and he describes the General's relations with Rochambeau as close and sympathetic. Neither of them ever seemed to have any difficulties in reaching decisions.

Because he was called upon at times to act as Rochambeau's aide-de-camp, he accompanied Rochambeau on some of his travels after the victory at Yorktown, and in this connection had occasion to visit the homes of many distinguished Americans, including Jefferson's at Monticello and Washington's at Mount Vernon. His descriptions of these visits are a very vivid portrayal of the times and of the manner in which the Colonial upper class lived—and that was very well indeed!

The battle of Yorktown having been well concluded, and while peace negotiations were pending, the French army marched to Boston. From there a large part embarked for Brest, and a smaller section, including the Baron's regiment, was sent in December 1782 as a reinforcement for the French forces in Puerto Cabello on the north shore of the South American continent adjoining the West Indies. No fighting took place there, however, and after the signing of the peace treaty these elements of the French army also returned to Brest, in June 1783.

Those particularly interested in the history of the French expeditionary forces under Rochambeau should certainly read this book for its firsthand account of the American campaign; but the Baron's journal is recommended to a wider audience, for it contains much interesting information about Colonial times and about the manners and customs of our Colonial ancestors that is not available elsewhere. Another book that should be read in connection with the *Journal* is Stephen Bonsal's *When the French Were Here* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1945).

The Cruise of the Portsmouth, 1845-1847: A Sailor's View of the Naval Conquest of California. By JOSEPH T. DOWNEY. Edited by HOWARD

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R. LAMAR. (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1958. xxi + 246 pages, illus., maps, appendices, index. \$6.00.)

Reviewed by COL. FRED B. ROGERS, *editor of Filings from an Old Saw . . . by "Filings"—Joseph T. Downey (1956).*

The discovery and acquisition of Downey's century-old manuscript by the Western Americana Collection at Yale is told in the preface by the Librarian, Dr. Archibald Hanna, Jr. Dr. Lamar's introduction is a penetrating analysis of the work, and his notes on persons, places, and incidents add markedly to the product.

Published as Number 4 of the Library's Western Historical Series, this attractive volume has a wide appeal. Interest in the sea, in our sailing Navy, and in early California never flags, so the devotees of any of these should treasure this book.

In December 1844 Downey boarded the *Portsmouth*, the finest among the last sailing sloops of the U. S. Navy. Thence he carries us to the Pacific through 1847 and the exciting events in California during the War with Mexico. His education was far above ordinary for an enlisted man of the time. He writes with intense human interest and much humor regarding his shipmates and others on land. The daily life in a man-of-war is set forth in detail; among his finest narrations are those of a Sabbath at sea, and of a death and burial, also at sea. Outstanding are his stories of the raising of the American flag at Yerba Buena (now San Francisco), of its occupation, and of the battles during the American advance from San Diego to Los Angeles. "Old Bobby," Commodore Robert F. Stockton, comes in for a gentle ribbing and much admiration. Less fortunate are others among Downey's officers. The *Cruise of the Portsmouth* is a worthy addition in the same field as Melville's *White Jacket*.

During my editing of *Filings from an Old Saw* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1956), I searched for years to determine the identity of the writer of those remarkable articles which appeared serially in *The Golden Era*, San Francisco, in 1853. It was not until I received from Dr. Hanna a typed copy of the manuscript of the work reviewed here, that by comparison I was able to prove that Downey also wrote *Filings*. What of Downey himself? His own description in *Filings* is so apt that it is used by Dr. Lamar:

"Now among said ship's company was a wild, harum-scarum blade yclept Joe Downey, who had passed through many a grade on board said ship, from yeoman to confidential clerk to the executive officer, down to one of the after guard and steady sweeper on the quarter-deck. His love of change and irresistible thirst for mischief prevented him from holding any one place long at a time. Joe was good enough in his way, but he was a bad one for a man of war, and this way, bad as it was, he determined to have, despite of law, gospel, or that stringent argument,

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the cat [-o'-nine-tails], a large quantity of which latter alternative he had at various and sundry times backed off, with the greatest of good humor. Joe was a favorite with the crew, and didn't care a d--n for the officers, and his fate though a checkered one, suited him well enough and he was happy."

On February 25, 1852, the *Alta California* of San Francisco reported the arrival there of one J. Downey "per *Independence* from San Juan." The special California Census of 1852 registered in Yuba County a J. Downey, native of Louisiana (where our Downey was born). Perhaps some reader may be able to tell of Downey and other writings by him after he seemed to disappear from the California scene in 1853.

British Emigration to North America: Projects and Opinions in the Early Victorian Period. By W. S. SHEPPERSON. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957. xvi + 302 pages, illus., biblio., index. \$5.00.)

Reviewed by BENJAMIN J. KLEBANER, *Department of Economics, The City College of New York.*

For numerous humble Britons in the mid-19th century, taking the "water cure" meant a one-way trip across the ocean. From 1837 to 1861, the period surveyed in this volume, over 700,000 left for the United States and a fraction of that number went to British North America. In the main, individuals went at their own or their families' expense in response to the contrast between the promise of the New World and conditions at home. Some were assisted by their landlords, poor law districts, philanthropic organizations, trade unions, or religious groups; most notable in the last category was the migration of 25,000 Britons under Mormon auspices. Land speculators and governments of undeveloped regions vigorously promoted the idea of settlement on their domains. Neither the swindling of land agents and profiteering of unscrupulous shipping interests nor the passivity of the British government and the opposition of certain circles (Chartists, some business and landed interests) stemmed the tide. To vigorous pleas for subsidized and planned emigration, Whitehall remained unmoved insofar as North America was concerned. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, offering information about conditions overseas and inspection of passenger ships, represented the extent to which the British government was involved. If Her Majesty's Government refused to promote the outflow, at least it did not impede it.

Professor Shepperson of the University of Nevada has made a comprehensive study of British attitudes toward emigration and the various schemes (many abortive) to send westward large numbers from their native England, Scotland, and Wales in the early years of Victoria's reign. The 27-page bibliography attests to the careful scholarship.

Several areas nevertheless remain unexplored or underexplored. The

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contemporary opinion that the Irish would inundate the neighboring island if British laborers were assisted to emigrate is mentioned, but the possible connection between the Irish migration to Britain—some 600,000 from 1841 to 1861 (Brinley Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1954], 72) and the transatlantic movement of Britons is not discussed. Shepperson points out that a majority of the migrants were agriculturalists and speaks of the deep desire of the average Briton to own land. Nowhere, though, is it made explicit whether in fact a majority continued to till the soil in their new homes. Nonconformists are said to have probably outnumbered the combined migration of Anglicans and Catholics but only meager evidence is offered in support of this hypothesis.

Like so many other writers, Shepperson is less than fair to Malthus (p. 13); the much misunderstood population expert in fact endorsed emigration in the distressed post-Napoleonic era. The surname of Sir Robert Wilmot-Horton, a leading early advocate of emigration as a solution, is consistently misspelled as "Wilmont-Horton."

Ireland and the American Emigration 1850-1900. By ARNOLD SCHRIER. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958. x + 210 pages, appendix, notes and biblio., index. \$4.50.)

Reviewed by ROBERT ERNST, *Professor of History, Adelphi College, Garden City, N.Y.*

Between 1845 and 1900 nearly five million Irish left their native soil. Much has been written about this Irish exodus, particularly about its impact upon the United States, but until the present study, nobody has considered systematically its full effects upon Ireland itself. Arnold Schrier, assistant professor at the University of Cincinnati, spent a year and a half in Ireland gathering material for this compact and useful book. If his conclusions are not startling, they are adequately supported by such statistics as are available and by the testimony of emigrants' letters, personal interviews, Irish newspaper accounts, and the valuable data collected by the Irish Folklore Commission.

After defining the causes and characteristics of the flowing tide and the lure of America for the Irish, Schrier analyzes the impassioned but futile protests over the loss of Erin's life-blood. Catholic newspapers, blaming the demoralizing land system and British rule, demanded land reform and home rule, while Protestant papers blamed lack of industry and opposed nationalist agitation as discouraging capital investment. The Irish Catholic Church never took an official stand on emigration. Individual priests ministered to the needs of the emigrants, however, and Schrier concludes that if the Church's silence meant anything it "probably reflected a sensible conviction that nothing was to be gained by mere protest."

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In a well reasoned chapter Schrier shows that emigration did not have a seriously adverse effect on the Irish economy. The relief of population pressure on the land and the reduction of the oversupply of labor led to more regular employment at somewhat higher wages, although pauperism did not decline significantly. Consolidation of many small land holdings and the conversion of much land to pasturage greatly improved the basis of Irish agriculture.

Mass emigration left an unique impress upon rural Irish society. It fostered romantic and mournful ballads, love charms to ensure a safe voyage or faithfulness during long separation, and above all the "American wake." An adaptation of the traditional death ceremony, the American wake afforded release for pent-up grief as the emigrant was about to depart for a distant shore, nevermore to return.

Although a few did come back, and the returned "Yank" became a familiar figure with American-acquired habits, fine clothes, stories of success, and money, direct remittances from America were far more important. In half a century emigrants sent more than \$250,000,000 to the Emerald Isle, some 40 percent being in the form of prepaid passage tickets, enough to pay for three fourths of the total emigration! The other 60 percent, known as "American money," paid the rent due on family farms and sometimes financed needed repairs or settled shopkeepers' bills. Much smaller contributions sustained nationalist political agitation, especially that of the Irish Land League.

This little book holds special interest for students of social history and folklore, and it should also appeal to anyone seeking a balanced understanding of modern Ireland.

The Confederate Reader. Edited by RICHARD HARWELL. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957. xxvi + 389 pages, illus., index. \$7.50.)

The Union Reader. Edited by RICHARD HARWELL. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958. xxii + 362 pages, illus., index. \$7.50.)

Reviewed by JAMES J. HESLIN.

Richard Harwell has ably documented various aspects of the Civil War in his *Confederate* and *Union* readers. The selections chosen from broadsides, magazines, military dispatches and orders, orations, pamphlets, sheet music, etc., are almost uniformly interesting. Each is prefaced by a brief introduction which is sufficient for the purpose intended, since the editor apparently assumes that the reader has a reasonable familiarity with the general course of the war.

Arranged in chronological order, this collection of battle accounts, military edicts and notices, poems, prison camp records, and the like, are often unusual enough to interest the specialist and may tend to stimulate

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a desire on the part of the non-specialist to read further into the extensive literature of the Civil War.

In any anthology there are, inevitably, some selections which may not merit universal approval and there are other selections one might wish included, but, by and large, these volumes are praiseworthy. Thus, while Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and his Second Inaugural Address are inspiring speeches, they are fairly well known. On the other hand, the oration delivered by Henry Ward Beecher at Fort Sumter on April 15, 1865, on the occasion of the raising of the same United States flag which had floated above the Fort during the bombardment that opened the war, is much less well known. Its selection constitutes a fitting and imaginative conclusion to *The Union Reader*.

The excerpts in *The Confederate Reader* describing life in Mobile and Richmond during the war indicate that these cities experienced somewhat less gloom and deprivation than is usually supposed and are, as a consequence, of considerable interest.

These are competent anthologies but one wonders why the author did not choose to include some selections from contemporary newspapers in the volumes.

Last Train from Atlanta. By A. A. HOEHLING. (New York and London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1958. 558 pages, illus., biblio. \$6.95.)

Reviewed by JAMES J. HESLIN.

In *Last Train from Atlanta*, A. A. Hoehling has told the story, using eyewitness accounts, of the siege, capture, and final evacuation of Atlanta by Sherman's Army. From diaries, letters, memoirs, official dispatches and newspaper accounts the author has reconstructed the ordeal of the city day by day, from July 3 until November 16, 1864. Presenting these events in the words of those who were participants not only creates dramatic impact but also establishes authenticity.

In the summer of 1864 Atlanta had a population of about twenty thousand. The arsenals, factories, and supply depots within the city, plus the fact that Atlanta was a major railway hub, made it second in importance only to Richmond within the Confederacy. It was, correspondingly, a natural target for Federal attack.

On May 4th Sherman began the Union campaign to capture Atlanta and his march of 120 miles southeast from Chattanooga, Tennessee, was a masterpiece of tactics. In early July the Union Army could see Atlanta from the heights above the Chattahoochee River but not until September 2d, when the Confederate General J. B. Hood evacuated the city, did Sherman finally enter.

Meanwhile, the experience was a grim one for the inhabitants of Atlanta as Union troops gradually encircled the city. In his *Memoirs*

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Sherman wrote later, "The month of August opened hot and sultry, but our position before Atlanta was healthy, with ample supply of wood, water and provisions. The troops had become habituated to the slow and steady progress of the siege. . . ." * If the Union Army advancing upon Atlanta had become habituated to the siege, the residents of the city had not, as is demonstrated by their observations in this book. The constant barrage from Federal artillery forced most of the population into caves and cellars; food became scarce and prices for such as was available were exorbitant. Flames and smoke hung over the city constantly and few buildings escaped damage. Shell fragments injured and killed men, women, and children as the Union guns pounded at the city.

This book is far superior to many of the Civil War volumes pouring forth from the presses. The device of presenting the siege and capture of Atlanta through the accounts of eyewitnesses creates an atmosphere which makes the events very meaningful to the reader. A minor dissent, however, must be expressed with the overabundance of material presented by the author which tends to diminish the reader's sense of identification. This is true despite the author's helpful insertion of a list of forty-five names of those whose accounts appear in this book.

The volume has a useful bibliography and appropriate illustrations but no index. A serious inconvenience to the reader is the absence of a map of the general area outside Atlanta, especially in view of the many references to arrivals and departures of citizens of the city to other towns and cities in Georgia. There are, in fact, only two maps provided, one of the Union and Confederate positions around the city, from *The New York Herald* of August 5, 1864, and the other a street plan of Atlanta near City Hall Square.

Mr. Hochling has succeeded in recreating the fear and heroism, the misery and tragedy of a city under attack, and his book is a distinct contribution to the literature of the Civil War.

The Civil War: A Pictorial Profile. By JOHN S. BLAY. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1958. 342 pages, illus., index. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by JAMES J. HESLIN.

This book retells the story of the Civil War by means of engravings from some of the periodicals of the day and a text which describes the war in chronological sequence.

To modern eyes accustomed to the photograph, many of these engravings, which originally appeared in illustrated weeklies of the time such as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly* (to mention

* *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1875), II, 96.

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but two), have an oddly stylized effect. In spite of this, many of the illustrations do successfully convey a sense of the turmoil of the war, and the engravings chosen by Mr. Blay which depict the life of the soldier in camp, hospital, and prison, are particularly effective. There are 365 illustrations plus sixteen excellent maps drawn by Kathleen Voute which, with the narrative, constitute an interesting presentation of the war.

This book is presumably addressed to the general reader interested in the Civil War and it fulfills this function adequately. While there is a useful index, the sources of the illustrations are not listed except in a few instances where an entire page from the periodical containing the original illustration is reproduced.

Jim Fisk: The Career of an Improbable Rascal. By W. A. SWANBERG. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959. viii + 310 pages, illus., biblio., index. \$4.50.)

Reviewed by HUGH WILLARD RIPLEY, *Reference Assistant, NYHS.*

Mr. Swanberg deals in adjectives most agilely. He made his debut with *Sickles the Incredible* and enhances his reputation for readable biography with the present contribution. The improbability about James Fisk, Jr., would not seem to be his appearance in post-bellum America, but his unconcern for what the era would think of him. Fisk stands alone as the one despoiler of Erie who did not cling to the rudiments of decency. His flamboyant personality, desire for the spotlight, and bonhomie caused him to be detested by the "people who really mattered" while being applauded and envied by much of the *hoi polloi*.

Fisk is drawn deftly, full-bodied and well-rounded. The satiric confusion of the newspapers of the day concerning whether to address him as Colonel-Admiral or Admiral-Colonel typifies the gaudiness of his short but thoroughly sensational career, abruptly ended at 37 by a love-rival's bullet. It is not to be construed that his wife, Lucy, was the apex of this fatal triangle, for this honor is reserved for his mistress, Helen Josephine Mansfield. She had grown tired of her affluent lover and was seeking, not a graceful, but a profitable way out of the alliance, with blackmail and threats of exposure comprising the sweet billets-doux of farewell, when her new provider extricated her with dispatch.

Mr. Swanberg deals with the intricate financial maneuverings of Fisk and associates with a light, but cavalier, hand. However, he presents a most lucid account of the Gould-Grant affair which led to the calamitous "Black Friday" of 1869, and his recital of the machinations of Fisk's and Gould's duel to decide who should derive chief benefit from the Erie Railroad after Drew had been dealt out (the stockholders, of course, never being considered), is a masterly performance. The account of Joseph Ramsey's struggle with Fisk to retain control of the Albany and

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Susquehanna Railway would have benefited from the author's perusal of Harry H. Pierce's study of government aid to railroads in New York.

It is also regrettable that many interesting quotations are left floating free when a footnote could have so nicely marked their position. One can only guess where in the *New York Times* occurs the apt description of Fisk as "first in war, first in peace and first in the pockets of his countrymen." The *Times* is not referring to the War Between the States, for Fisk sat that one out in Washington, dispensing potables and advice as to where supplies might most profitably be obtained—most profitably to himself, of course, not necessarily to the government. The quotation is appended to the chapter dealing with the Orangeman's Riot of July 12, 1871, and Fisk's role as commander of the Ninth Regiment of the New York National Guard which took part in that conflict.

The volume is a worthy contribution and one well designed to enhance the reader's knowledge and enjoyment of the whole colorful decade from Gettysburg to the "Great Crash."

Adirondack Bibliography: A List of Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Articles Published through the Year 1955. Compiled by the Bibliography Committee of the Adirondack Mountain Club, DOROTHY A. PLUM, Chairman; LYNETTE L. SCRIBNER, Vice-Chairman. (Gabriels, N.Y.: Adirondack Mountain Club, Inc. [distributed by New York University Press, New York City], 1958. xviii + 354 pages, map, index. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by A. RACHEL MINICK, *Bibliographer, NYHS.*

Enthusiasm for one of America's most beautiful regions has inspired the Adirondack Mountain Club to different kinds of achievement. Since its founding in 1922, this group has hiked through the Adirondacks, has sponsored legislation for the conservation of its natural resources, and has engaged in publishing some guide-books, as well as articles of interest to members, and book reviews, in its attractive bi-monthly *Ad-i-ron-dac*. Naturally these ventures led some of its editors to wonder what had already been done to bring the region into print; and so in 1950 the project of an inclusive Adirondack bibliography was launched.

At first it was proposed to "bring Donaldson up to date" (Alfred L. Donaldson's *A History of the Adirondacks*, 2 volumes, 1921, with 64 pages of bibliography compiled in part by the librarian James A. McMillan) and to do this Dorothy A. Plum was chosen as chairman of the committee. Miss Plum is a native of the Cherry Valley and must have an innate affection for the Adirondack region; she is also librarian of Vassar College and an experienced bibliographer. With the aid of Lynette L. Scribner an imposing list of 7,539 titles was compiled. As the committee realized soon after they set to work, this would be no mere revision of

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Donaldson, but a comprehensive bibliography in its own right, with its own plan.

Books of general interest are listed in the Introduction; the rest of the bibliography is arranged in subject classifications under the headings: History, Geography, the Adirondack Preserve, Natural History, Social and Economic History, Health and Medicine, Religious History, Education, Recreation, Clubs, Biography, Art and Literature, and Juvenile Works. These categories are further subdivided. The concise descriptions of the books and articles are often followed by phrases linking them to the region, where such connections are not apparent; and the exact locale of the book or article is often indicated in the same way. When the publication is rare, library location is mentioned. Reprints and variant editions are noted. As witness to the compilers' careful research, a one-page list of unlocated titles is added as an Appendix.

There are certain unexpected arrangements: for instance, Eleanor Waterbury Franz's article, "The Tragedy of the North Woods," is found in the fiction section under Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* instead of in the section "Social and Economic History"; but this is justified since the article is based on the book. Moreover, the article may be caught in the index under both the author's name and "Murder."

Indispensable in a long, classified list such as this, the index ties the bibliography together, making the different items available under author, place-name, title (when no author is known), and subject subdivisions.

The bibliography is a scholarly achievement. Attractively printed by an electrotype process and substantially bound, it will be an invaluable asset to any individual, library or institution interested in the Adirondack region's many aspects. The Club's prestige in exploring and conserving the physical heritage of the Adirondacks is enhanced by this publication, for it proves that the members attempt to conserve the intellectual heritage as well, through this comprehensive compilation of the literature of that region. Perhaps the best news about it is that it will be continued annually: let us hope by the same editors and with the same thoroughness.

Chautauqua County, A History. By HELEN G. McMAHON. (Buffalo, N.Y.: Henry Stewart, Inc., 1958. viii + 339 pages, illus., biblio., index. \$5.95.)

Reviewed by ARCH MERRILL, *author of seventeen books on the regional history of New York State.*

Few county histories have been written in New York in the last half-century. Some of the older ones are excellent, as far as they go. Others, particularly those produced in the 1870s, mass-production style, by big city publishers, were "racket" histories, full of flattering biographical sketches of citizens who paid their way into history. The old engravings

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showing said citizens' Victorian houses, with carriage horses prancing at the doors, and their farmsteads with contented cattle browsing on the hills, are intriguing bits of Americana but of little real historical value.

Perhaps there is to be a renaissance of county-history writing. One herald of a new age is *Chautauqua County, A History* by Helen G. McMahon of Jamestown. Miss McMahon has streamlined and brought up to date the story of the distinctive county that lies in the far southwest corner of New York State, beginning with the military expedition under Céloron that claimed the region for France in 1749.

The author reveals a capacity for painstaking research and a gift for weeding out the nonessential. The old Indian name of Chautauqua is better known than that of most upstate counties because the far-flung, tented lyceum circuits of the early 1920s borrowed it from the old cultural religious assembly that still lives as the Chautauqua Institution. But that is only one facet of the Chautauqua story and Miss McMahon does dwell on it unduly, although she has attempted to present the complete history of that interesting county.

Shop Records of Daniel Burnap, Clockmaker. By PENROSE R. HOOPES. (Hartford, Conn.: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1958. viii + 188 pages, genealogical note, inventory of estate, note on sources, illus., index. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by CAROLYN SCOON, Assistant Curator of the Museum, NYHS.

Daniel Burnap was born in Coventry, Connecticut, in 1759. He learned his trade of clockmaker through apprenticeship to the English-born Thomas Harland of Norwich. By 1786 Burnap was well established in East Norwich with his own shop and several apprentices, and he continued to prosper throughout the 18th century. He retired about 1805 but was active in town affairs and represented his birthplace in the General Assembly at Hartford from 1812 to 1824. During this period, his income came from the ownership of a sawmill and other property. His life thus represents that of a typical small-town craftsman and business man of his period, better documented than most since many of his account books and shop notes have been preserved and are here transcribed and analyzed.

In this day, when a watch repairer has only to reach into a drawer for the needed replacement, this record is a surprise in its listing of the amount of handwork needed in the 18th century to replace or repair worn out equipment of all kinds. Burnap made or mended every type of household equipment, from pots and kettles to dental tools and a "Brass ring for Dog."

He was also the most successful clockmaker in Connecticut from 1785

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to 1805, a period which directly preceded and led up to mechanization and large-scale production of clocks by factory methods. He made striking tall clocks, moon-phase clocks, and chime clocks which could play any one of six different tunes on a series of bells. His methods are competently described in this volume and are well illustrated with drawings and plates showing examples of his work.

As Mr. Hoopes suggests in his preface, there is room for more research into the work of 18th-century craftsmen. The present volume is a model of such research and is highly recommended for anyone interested in this field. It is also a very well designed and handsomely printed book of which its publishers can be proud.

Bewitching Betsy Bonaparte. By ALICE CURTIS DESMOND. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1958. x + 306 pages, ports., illus., biblio. \$3.50.)

Reviewed by R. W. G. VAIL.

If you were asked what Baltimore belle was first to marry a one-time king you would probably give the wrong answer unless you had read Alice Curtis Desmond's *Bewitching Betsy Bonaparte*. This authentic biography with dialogue (you can hardly call it fiction since it follows history so accurately) will prove thrilling reading for everyone from a bobby-soxer to her grandmother. Though it began by marching along behind the author's biographies of the wives of Washington, Madison, and Hamilton in a series designed for teen-age girls, it soon gathered a following of grown-up readers who realized not only that it is the only full-scale life of the heroine but that it is an excellent piece of adult biography written with scholarship, literary taste, a good bibliography, interesting pictures but, alas, no index, though of course we must blame the thrifty publisher rather than the delightful author for that.

Betsy Patterson was the most beautiful girl in Baltimore or at least that is what Napoleon Bonaparte's youngest brother Jerome had been told before he met her. When he did meet her he confirmed that opinion, promptly fell in love with her and, against the violent opposition of her own father and the Emperor, married her before his return to France. But Napoleon had planned to marry all of his family to royalty and so build up a dynasty of his own. He therefore had his brother's wedding annulled, and forced him to marry a plain and uninteresting minor princess with whom he lived unhappily ever after.

Unfortunately, there was also a son by the American wife who spent the rest of her long life trying unsuccessfully to get the French court to recognize him as a Bonaparte. He was a member of the great French family as far as Baltimore was concerned and had three generations of

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descendants including Charles Jerome Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy and Attorney General under Theodore Roosevelt. Betsy was not only a beautiful society belle from one of the first families but also a stubborn fighter whose absorption in her son's welfare became a mania which blighted her own later career. Perhaps because her heroine had a greater appeal for the author than those in her previous biographies, perhaps because she found a richer mine of source materials, or perhaps because her own skill as a biographer has improved, certain it is that this is Mrs. Desmond's finest biographical study, through which the reader sees the social life of Baltimore and of Europe during the Napoleonic era and the tragic career of an American Juliet who did not die with her lover in the tomb of the Capulets.

Susan B. Anthony: Rebel, Crusader, Humanitarian. By ALMA LUTZ. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959. viii + 340 pages, biblio., illus., index. \$5.75.)

Reviewed by JAMES J. HESLIN.

The Nineteenth Amendment which granted suffrage to women in 1920 was the culmination of a long struggle on the part of dedicated reformers. John Adams, when a member of the Continental Congress, was asked by Abigail Adams "to remember the ladies" in the formation of a new code of laws, but the ladies were forgotten then and for many years thereafter. Yet the battle for woman suffrage went on and in spite of endless disappointments and rebuffs the zeal of the leaders in this crusade was remarkable, and especially outstanding was the indefatigable Susan B. Anthony.

Born near Adams, Massachusetts, in 1820 (from which her parents moved to Rochester, New York, in 1845) Susan B. Anthony was reared in an atmosphere of liberal Quakerism. At 15 she was teaching school in Canajoharie, New York, and it was here that she delivered her first speech at a meeting of the Daughters of Temperance. From attacks on the evils of alcohol Susan B. Anthony progressed, in the reform spirit of the day, to assaults on the evils of slavery and it was soon evident to her that votes for women could have a strong effect on both reforms. Thus, the goal of woman suffrage became her aim and to this cause Miss Anthony dedicated herself. Although she disliked writing she wrote numerous editorials and pamphlets and, while she did not enjoy public speaking either, nonetheless she soon became a familiar figure on lecture platforms far beyond New York State. With complete disregard for the political proprieties Susan B. Anthony sought the support of Democrats or Republicans as either party appeared to favor votes for women.

From 1846 to her death in 1906 Susan B. Anthony was, in the words of

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William Henry Channing, "the Napoleon of the Women's Rights Movement," and withal she could be as domestic as any other lady, and her cooking was reported to be better than most.

At eighty-five this indomitable campaigner attended the International Woman Suffrage Alliance meeting in Berlin and characteristically, when presented to the Empress Victoria Augusta, suggested that the Emperor might wish to raise the status of German women. To which the Empress replied, "The gentlemen are very slow to comprehend this great movement."

It is unfortunate that Susan B. Anthony did not live to see her cause triumph but she never lost faith in the ultimate victory of woman suffrage.

This is a competent biography. What might have been an over-detailed account of the vicissitudes of the organizations devoted to enfranchisement for women has instead become a well-knit record of one of the major American reform movements. What might have been the glorification of an unusual woman has become instead an intelligent, objective portrayal of a significant contributor to American social history. It is obvious that the author has a liking and respect for Susan B. Anthony but Miss Lutz has used these sentiments to illumine rather than distort her subject. The result is a valuable and most readable book about an interesting woman and a worthwhile cause.

Lucretia Mott. By OTELIA CROMWELL. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. x + 241 pages, illus., biblio., index. \$5.75.)

Reviewed by ALMA LUTZ, author of books on women's rights movements and biographer of Emma Willard, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Harriot Stanton Blatch, and Susan B. Anthony.

So little attention has been paid to our great American women in historical writing and biography that Otelia Cromwell's *Lucretia Mott* is particularly welcome. She has given us the results of her careful research not in a chronological story, but has emphasized rather Lucretia Mott's influence on religion, on the antislavery, women's rights, non-resistance, peace, and other reform movements.

Lucretia Coffin was born on the island of Nantucket in 1793. Her ancestors were seafaring Quakers whose wives in their absence assumed as a matter of course all family responsibilities. With such a background, she developed courage and independence, regarded marriage as a partnership and women as capable, equal members of society. Here, too, she learned respect for hard work and household tasks well done. She was educated at Nine Partners, a Friends' Boarding School, near Poughkeepsie, New York, where she became a teacher within a few years. In

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1811, she and a fellow-teacher, James Mott, were married and settled in Philadelphia. Their marriage was a happy partnership. James Mott became a successful businessman, Lucretia, a devoted mother and model housekeeper. Yet both these young people had wider interests.

Both were members of the liberal Hicksite Society of Friends. Recognized as having "a gift in the ministry," Lucretia at 28 was a recorded minister. A thoughtful student of the Bible, a practical Christian, emphasizing the spirit rather than the letter of religion, and an inspired speaker, she was in constant demand. Her face radiant with her message, she impressed all who heard her not only at Friends' Meetings, but at antislavery, women's rights, non-resistance, and peace conventions in an era when public speaking by women was regarded with stern disapproval.

The abolition of slavery was of special concern to the Motts who were active members of the Pennsylvania and American Antislavery Societies. Sent as a delegate to the World's Antislavery Convention in London in 1840, Lucretia made the long journey with James, only to be rejected as a delegate because of her sex. This roused her latent interest in the rights of women. Her talks with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, also in London at that time, resulted in their calling and carrying through with success in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, the First Women's Rights Convention in the world, asking for equality before the law for women. From then on Lucretia Mott was active in the women's rights movement, holding office and speaking at conventions, the dependable colleague of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Always interested in education, she had a part in the founding in 1864 of Swarthmore College which was open to women as well as to men.

Her influence on American thought was on the side of justice, equal rights, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion. She took her stand for these principles quietly and confidently, regardless of criticism, and her example and advice strengthened and spurred on her more militant colleagues.

George Perkins Marsh, Versatile Vermonter. By DAVID LOWENTHAL. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958. xii + 442 pages, biblio., index. \$6.50.)

Reviewed by DR. RICHARD G. WOOD, *Director, Vermont Historical Society.*

Our author has no difficulty in proving the versatility of George Perkins Marsh. Rather Marsh's career proves it for him down to the hilt, leaving the reader wondering why he had not heard more about Marsh's career before—a career embracing that of an educator, lawyer, mill operator, Congressman, railroad regulator, commissioner of the Vermont State House, lecturer, conservationist, and diplomat (Italy and Turkey).

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All these are the versatility of earning a living; there is also the versatility of doing the things he liked to do: interest in languages, science, and philology.

Marsh began his career in Woodstock, Vermont, in 1801 and ended it in Italy in 1882. After graduating from Dartmouth College in 1820, he taught a year at what was later Norwich University and acquired a dislike for teaching. Returning to Woodstock, he "read" law and was admitted to the bar. He moved from Woodstock to Burlington where he pursued a legal career with modest success. He turned next to politics and was elected to Congress on the Whig ticket in 1843 and continued to serve in Washington until he was appointed minister to Turkey in 1849. When this came to an end in 1853 with a change of administration, he returned to Burlington feeling that his career was at a low ebb. Moreover, he faced financial ruin with the failure of his woolen mill which could no longer compete under the low tariff then in vogue. Although he tried his hand at lecturing and writing with small success, his contribution to the State of Vermont was notable in several low-paid jobs. As fish commissioner he wrote a report urging more State control but it was before its time and its results showed up in Federal practices later. As railroad commissioner his scathing attacks urged reform and he proved to be a forerunner to Charles Francis Adams and his strictures on the Erie. As State House commissioner Marsh may be thanked for retaining the classic lines of the Vermont State Capitol which graces Montpelier. With low salaries and delay in settling claims against the Federal Government, Marsh was slow in relieving his financial embarrassments and it was not until 1860 that his affairs looked brighter.

After Lincoln's election Marsh at the age of 60 began a new career. He was appointed minister to Italy, a position particularly gratifying because of his interest in the Italian language and his sympathy with the *Resorgimento*. In this position he labored at Turin, Florence, and Rome as the capital of the new state moved about. Here he wrote his greatest work, *Man and Nature*, and corresponded with scientists, philologists, and scholars. Presidents came and went but Marsh remained at his post for more than twenty years.

Dr. Lowenthal writes ably and well. The description of the Woodstock era is almost lyric in tone. His bibliography is immense and includes archival and manuscript collections. The work is well documented with footnotes and has an excellent index.

A few errors can be corrected in a second edition. Franklin Pierce is ascribed to Vermont rather than to New Hampshire. Marsh was fifteen years older than his wife on p. 47 but seventeen years older on p. 326. George Ozias Marsh was "drafted" into the Union Army in 1862 whereas the Draft Act was not passed until 1863. In the field of opinion this reviewer cannot bring himself to accept Dr. Lowenthal's view of the low calibre of Marsh's instruction at Dartmouth College.

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Strands from the Weaving. By LUCRETIA G. COMER. (New York, Washington, and Hollywood: Vantage Press, 1959. 73 pages, illus. \$2.95.)

Reviewed by ARTHUR H. MERRITT, D.D.S., D.Sc., LL.D., L.H.D.

Here may be found an interesting and informative story having as its chief objective a brief biographical sketch of the two sons of President James A. Garfield—Harry Augustus (1863–1942) and his brother, James Rudolph (1865–1950). Both are generally referred to by the author as Harry and Jim.

It tells of their early life on a farm in Ohio and of their four years as students at St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., from which they were graduated in 1880. In June of that year their father was nominated for the Presidency of the United States and was elected the following November.

Chapters 3 and 4 tell the story of the family life in the White House; of the assassination of the President July 2, 1881, and of his death September 19. In 1881 the Garfield boys entered Williams College from which both were graduated four years later.

Little is reported of Harry's law studies. It is stated that early in life he decided to "be a lawyer." His father learning of his interest in law presented him with a copy of *Kent's Commentaries*. Later mention is made of the two brothers' engaging in the practice of law in Cleveland, Ohio, under the name of Garfield & Garfield. That they carried on a successful practice is quite evident.

In 1903, in response to a letter from Woodrow Wilson, President of Princeton University, Harry Garfield retired from the practice of law and accepted a professorship at Princeton. Five years later he resigned from his duties to become President of Williams College, a position which he held for 26 years. Almost nothing is reported of his 26 years as President of his Alma Mater.

Following his retirement in 1934 the Harry Garfields "went around the world" visiting several countries. On their return they made their home in Washington. He died in Williamstown, December 12, 1942.

American Folk Art. By ELLEN S. SABINE. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1958. x + 132 pages, illus., index. \$6.95.)

Reviewed by CAROLYN SCOON, Assistant Curator of the Museum, NYHS.

This is a "how to" book and is therefore of limited appeal although its title gives promise of a wider field. The author gives step-by-step instructions for decorating trays, canisters, chairs, boxes, chests and other household articles with folk art or country-type designs. Most of these designs come from the Pennsylvania-German region although the decoration of Hitchcock chairs and a few New England chests is also

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described. Many traditional designs are shown in color with detailed instructions on how to prepare the object for painting, how to mix the colors and how to use the brush. If one is interested in learning this type of handwork, this volume should prove helpful although reference should here be made to the standard work in this field, *Early American Decoration* by Esther Stevens Brazer (1940).

Escape to Utopia: The Communal Movement in America. By EVERETT WEBBER. [American Procession Series.] (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1959. xiv + 444 pages, illus., biblio., index. \$5.50.)

This book offers a quick, easy-to-read introduction to the history of the communal movement in America and its leaders from the late 18th through the 19th centuries. The author presents his material with wit and humor, emphasizing those aspects which might especially appeal to popular taste. While it is an interesting and informative survey of American experimental communes and Utopian societies, it is nevertheless superficial in its treatment of the subject; but for those whose deeper interest the author has succeeded in arousing he offers a fine bibliography of general references on the social, economic and religious backgrounds of the movement, and of more thorough studies of specific groups.

T. A. C.

A Directory of Printing, Publishing, Bookselling & Allied Trades in Rhode Island to 1865. By H. GLENN BROWN and MAUDE O. BROWN. (New York: The New York Public Library, 1958. 211 pages. \$9.00.)

In 1950 the New York Public Library published the Browns' superb *Directory of the Book-Arts and Book Trade in Philadelphia to 1820, Including Painters and Engravers*, which has since become a classic. It weathered a thorough independent checking, so far as painters and engravers were concerned, during the compilation of our own *Dictionary of Artists in America* (1957), and was found to be as admirable in its accuracy and coverage as in its methodology.

Now the same compilers have given us an equally excellent *Directory* for the whole of Rhode Island, where the book trades were too scattered on a State-wide basis for exclusive concentration on a single city. "Printers, publishers, [editors,] booksellers, auctioneers who sold books, binders, paper and press manufacturers have been included; artists and engravers [*more's the pity!*] have not." A graceful, enlightening preface, a comprehensive bibliography of the source directories, newspapers, and books, and two chronological indexes of (1) names and (2) newspapers and magazines by city round out this detail-packed *Directory* into a valuable, easily consulted reference book.

C. E. B.



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- Rita Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York 1726-1776* (1938). xviii + 450 pp., index, \$3.00.
- Same, *1777-1799* (1954). xix + 484 pp., illus., index, \$4.00.
- R.W.G. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday: A Sesqui-Centennial History of The New-York Historical Society 1804-1954* (1954). xix + 547 pp., 180 illus., index, \$6.00.
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